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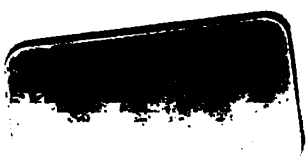

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THE ARCHPRIEST CONTROVERSY

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE DISSENSIONS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY, 1597-1602

EDITED FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FROM THE PETYT MSS. OF THE INNER TEMPLE
BY
THOMAS GRAVES LAW, LL.D.
LIBRARIAN OF THE SIGNET LIBRARY, EDINBURGH

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INTRODUCTION.

THE documents in the present volume fall naturally into three groups.

I. The English narratives, or private memoranda of the deputation of the four priests to Rome and their proceedings there, during the nine months from Feb. 14 to Oct. 28, 1602, serve as a general introduction to what follows. In the first of these narratives, or "A Chart of our Affairs," John Mush writes in the name of the four, referring to himself in the third person, though he occasionally lapses into the first person singular (p. 18 *sq.*). The second and anonymous narrative, interesting from the account given of the Appellants' visit to the nuncio in Flanders and their stay in Paris on the way to Rome, may have been written by Bluet, but more probably by Francis Barneby, whose place in the deputation was afterwards taken by Dr. Cecil. Of Barneby Bagshaw wrote (p. 184) that he "in truth did more than we all in Flanders and was able to relate as much as Mr. Bluet could have done and perhaps more."

II. The *Brevis Relatio* is a record of a more formal and official character. The narrative with which it begins is fuller and more important than that of Mush in regard to the audiences of the Pope and the French ambassador; and it is supplemented by the several petitions, memorials, and other documents to which reference is made in the text. It is not improbably from the pen of Dr. Cecil, whose academical degree entitled him to take the first place among

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the delegates. It appears that the French ambassador had desired the Appellants to let him see, and to deposit with him, copies of all papers put in by them in the case (p. 45). This injunction may not have been literally carried out day by day. But the *Brevis Relatio* bears evidence of having been prepared for submission to some French dignitary as a record of the proceedings. It is a copy made by an Italian clerk in three sections, and these sections seem to have been delivered together, or at least were so docqueted on Nov. 4: that is, some days after the date of the Appellants' departure from Rome. On the last page of the narrative proper there will be noticed the interpolation of a few words, and the erasure of others with the note *Jay rayé les lignes cy dessus.* Three pages further on there is another note in the same hand: *Premier cahier du discours de ce qui cest passé en l'affaire des prestres anglois faict a Rome le 4e Novembre* 1602. A similar note occurs p. 120, *segond cahier* etc., with the same date; and at the conclusion of the record (p. 151), *troisième et dernier cahier*, etc.[a] The *Brevis Relatio* is probably the Record to which the Appellants refer when taking counsel's opinion as to the legal force of certain clauses in the Brief of Oct. 5., viz. "Utrum prohibemur publicare processum hujus negotii et eum in posterum typis mandare." The Dean of the Rota, to whom the questions are addressed, answers: "Ex publicatione processus . . . nihil boni consequi possunt sacerdotes," etc., and the process, being accordingly not published, may have come back into the priests' hands and thence possibly into the possession of the Bishop of London, reaching a final resting-place in the Inner Temple.

The documents included in the *Brevis Relatio* are arranged without any regard to subject or chronological order. They are, moreover, by no means complete. The paper of *Gravamina* against the Archpriest was excluded on account of its great bulk (p. 57), and because in substance it had been already sufficiently

[a] This French hand appears once more in the endorsement of a separate document, the questions submitted to M. Seraphin (p. 209).

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published in the printed books. Some of Parsons's reports to the Pope on the private characters and vices of the Appellants—papers which the Pope would not even allow the four priests to see—are naturally not here. One such paper is printed by Tierney (iii. clix), who also prints two other Memorials on the controversy (*ib.* clxii-iv) drawn up by Parsons and presented in the name of the Archpriest's procurators to the Cardinals Arrigoni and Borghese. A more regrettable loss is the full text of the Sentence of the Inquisition, which was in Tierney's hands, though he printed no more than a few lines of it.

III. The third group contains the remainder of the miscellaneous papers in the Petyt Collection relating to this subject. The long Expostulation addressed to Blackwell is a little earlier in date than the rest, for it was written about July or August 1601,[a] before the four priests left England. The letters of Dr. Gifford and Dr. Ely, men of undoubted orthodoxy and learning, are notable for the very forcible expression of their anti-Jesuit sentiments. The one detests "those violent and bloody spirits who continuously and unnaturally practise against their prince and country"; and the other denounces "those unnatural bastards that do attend to nought else but conquests and invasions." Very curious is the private correspondence between the Appellants in Paris with their friends in London and in Rome, in which we find Dr. Bagshaw, vain of his strange intimacy with a Protestant bishop, writing to Watson, "I would my Lord of London were now and then by when we have talk of him with some bishops and nobles here" (p. 185), while on the other hand, Dr. Percy at Rome is referring to a brother priest, Father Parsons, in venomous language: "O vox serpentina, cum ille nunquam Christum sed quæ sua sunt tantum quæsivit!" (p. 239). We get glimpses, too, once more of prison life

[a] In the Introduction to vol. i. (p. xxi), I stated that they began their journey about the end of September. They were at least reported on the 16th as ready to start immediately (Tierney, iii. p. cxlviii). It appears, however, from the Second Narrative (*infra*, p. 29) that they did not leave London for Dover until about Nov. 4.

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in England. The remnants of the old Wisbech factions, now in Framlingham castle, are jealous of laymen encroaching upon their clerical privileges. They petition the Privy Council for relief; and demand of the unfortunate and bewildered Archpriest more plentiful or equitable distribution of alms. The news of the Brief of October elicits from Garnet a letter to his brethren dignified and conciliatory in tone, though coloured perhaps in the eyes of the Appellants with an irritating assumption of superior virtue; while from Anthony Heborne comes an equally characteristic but petulant refusal to comply with the Archpriest's request that he should publish the brief in the Clink. Yet what an insight into the hard conditions of the hunted missionary's life, that the most suitable place for the legal publication of a papal brief should be the inside of a London gaol! If the Church of the early Roman days has been fairly styled the Church of the Catacombs, the Church of the Elizabethan Catholics may be as truly called the Church of the English Prisons.

The series appropriately closes with a letter of Sir Robert Cecil "wherein he swears," and by the two specimens of a protestation of allegiance offered on the part of certain priests.

The motives of the Protestant Queen in setting free four priests whose lives were forfeited or in jeopardy for their allegiance to Rome, and providing them with passports that they might the more easily proceed to lay their clerical grievances at the feet of the Pope, "Clement in deed as well as in name," may be variously interpreted. It cannot be assumed, however, that she was actuated solely by the design of sowing the seeds of fresh discord between the missionaries. She and her council were apparently in search of some trustworthy test to distinguish loyal and disloyal priests, and she probably hoped, as James I. at one time after her hoped, that the Pope might be induced to prohibit under censures any attempts at insurrection.

The plan was Bluet's, and therefore the old man, not the most wise or best tempered of the Appellants, could not be excluded from the deputation. He, however, was by no means ashamed of

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his dealings with the Queen. It is to his candid and graphic account, presented to the two Cardinals in charge of the case, that we owe our knowledge of the details of this curious episode.[a] Dr. Cecil was a more accommodating person, clever and plausible. He had been chaplain or secretary to Cardinal Allen, and a friend of Father Parsons, whose letters and secrets he betrayed to Lord Burghley. His knowledge of languages and diplomatic ability no doubt made him a valuable acquisition to the Appellants, to whom his discreditable adventures under the *alias* of Snowdon were very likely unknown. But how he came to join the deputation at Paris to the exclusion of Barneby is not explained. Mush, the leader of the Northern clergy, a missionary of experience and repute, was a man of more genuine worth. Champney, the youngest of the four, was a scholar who was to make his mark as a controversialist on Anglican Orders, and to become a doctor of the Sorbonne and vice-president of Douai College. These men denied, with evident truth, that they had received a penny from the Queen, or had any commission from her. Yet they were something more than "banished" priests. For it was well understood that for a banished priest to return to England the penalty was death, whereas Bluet at least seems to have been on parole to come back to his gaoler with a report of his proceedings; and Barneby also was soon, willingly or unwillingly, in England again and in prison.

Unfortunately, the object of the deputation and the important points in dispute were at the time, and have been to this day, obscured by the irrelevant issues raised by party spirit and passion. Charges were brought by the one side against the other regardless of proof or probability. Nothing seems too base or treacherous to be believed of a Jesuit, by certain Appellants. Parsons, on the other hand, was not the kind of controversialist who aims at discovering and grappling with the strongest point in his adversaries' position. As with the two deputies in 1599, so now with

[a] Printed in English, *Cal. S. P.*, Dom. Eliz. cclxxxiii. 70, and in the original Latin in *Jesuits and Seculars*, p. 153.

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the four in 1602, his tactics were rather to "poison the wells," to damage the priests' characters, to misrepresent their motives and prevent their obtaining a hearing.

How nearly he succeeded in this is evident. The Pope regarded them with anger and suspicion. He had heard they were disturbers of the peace, heretics, deniers of his powers to depose princes, spies in the pay of Elizabeth. "As to toleration it would do harm. What letters, what commission (he asked) did they bring from the Queen?"

That they obtained a fair hearing was due, it seems, entirely to the intervention of the French ambassador acting under instructions from Henri IV. A noteworthy condition of his help was that the priests should not say a word in public or private against the Queen or Government of England (p. 45). When once the Pope was made to understand that there was something to say for the Appellants, the change in his tone was remarkable. He declared that justice should be done, brushed aside the mutual recriminations and personalities, and treated the Appellants throughout with singular patience, moderation and kindliness. Parsons—for the Archpriest's procurators were mere puppets—still endeavoured to prejudice the cause of the Appellants by identifying their demands with the extravagances of William Watson. It would be as fair to make the English Jesuits as a body responsible for the explosive schemes of their friends and adherents, Catesby and Guy Fawkes.

The gist of the Appellants' case may be found in the six short petitions formulated on March 6 (p. 103). They asked for a decision on the charge of schism and disobedience brought against them by Blackwell and the Jesuit theologians, the charge "which had been the cause of so many scandals." They asked that negotiations should be entered into with the view of lightening the pressure of the penal laws, or of securing some measure of toleration. They petitioned for episcopal government. They begged that those who had "impiously plotted against the state" might be removed from the colleges of Douai and Rome; that all priests, religious and secular, should be prohibited from intermeddling with

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political matters calculated to provoke the Government to more rigorous persecution; and that, finally, all Catholics, lay or clerical, should be put under an obligation to reveal any designs they should know of, directed against the Queen and State.

There was surely nothing seditious, unorthodox or scandalous in such demands as these. On the political side there was indeed reasonable ground for viewing the intrigues, in which Parsons took a principal part, as the provocative cause of the increase of persecution, and for desiring to diminish the Jesuits' power of doing mischief. Parsons had embarked upon his long career of conspiracy in 1581, in the teeth of his pledges and the commands of his superiors.[a] He had still later, in spite of the more stringent decrees of his Order in 1593, published his "Conference on the succession," and written his revolutionary "Memorial for the Reformation";[b] and, again, in 1598, with characteristic audacity, but unusual want of foresight, he had announced to a brother Jesuit and countryman, and afterwards proposed to the Pope, "that he might crack his head over it for a little while," the insane project of having the Infanta of Spain placed on the throne of England with a Roman Cardinal for her consort!

It may not be surprising that the priests failed to secure the guarantees they wished for in the matter of politics. The Spanish influence was too strong. But it should not be surprising also that, in view of this failure, the Queen took no steps towards toleration. One, it may be her main, object in facilitating the appeal had been so far unsuccessful. Hence the disappointing Proclamation of November 5.

In the matter of Blackwell's misgovernment it was proved that he had exceeded his powers, and had acted tyrannically. It was not altogether unreasonable that the Appellants should ask for his removal, or for the abolition of his office. Yet it was hardly to be

[a] See an article in the *Edinburgh Review* of April 1898, entitled "English Jesuits and Scottish Intrigues, 1581–2."

[b] A copy of which he presented to the Infanta in June 1601.

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expected that the Pope, in the circumstances, would yield so far. Failing to obtain bishops, and failing to find acceptance for a plan to neutralise the authority of the Archpriest by the institution of several local and co-ordinate archpriests, the Appellants bent all their efforts towards withdrawing their Superior from the dominant influence of the Jesuits. In this, as has been said, they were entirely successful.

Here it would seem that these introductory remarks should come to an end. But in view of certain criticisms made by Father Gerard in an article in *The Month* entitled "The Archpriest Controversy" (Jan. 1897) the point just referred to appears to need more particular elucidation. In the Introduction to the first volume of this work I had observed, in reference to the original appointment of the Archpriest, that he was instructed by Cardinal Cajetan "in all matters of gravity to follow the advice of the Superior of the Jesuits" (p. xvi), and, again, in relation to the Brief of October, 1602, that "the Appellants triumphed in the withdrawal of the offensive clause in the Archpriest's instructions bidding him to take counsel of the Jesuit Superior. He was now, on the contrary, 'for the sake of peace,' forbidden to consult the Jesuits, whether in England or in Rome." Moreover, in *Jesuits and Seculars* (p. lxv), describing the Appellants' view of the same clause, I had written that whereas Blackwell "had no authority over the Jesuits, he was bound to consult their Superior. This appeared tantamount to placing the seculars under the entire control of Garnet."

Upon this Father Gerard remarks: "We have seen in what terms Mr. Law describes the purport of this admonition, and in so doing he has but followed in the wake of the Appellant writers, who all speak in the same strain. But it is somewhat remarkable that, constantly as the Cardinal's letter has been spoken of, it should apparently have never been textually quoted, and when we turn to its actual words we find something very different from what we have been led to expect. Cajetan, in his formal notification

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of Blackwell's appointment, had emphatically stated that the Fathers of the Society 'have no jurisdiction, nor pretend to have, over the secular priests.'[a] In the private instructions, sent at the same time, he speaks as follows:

"'Although the Superior of the said Fathers is not among the consultors of the Archpriest, yet, since it is of the greatest importance, and is the earnest desire and command of His Holiness, that there should be complete union of mind and agreement between the Fathers of the Society and the Secular Clergy, and as the said Superior, on account of his experience of English affairs and the authority he has amongst Catholics, may greatly assist all consultations of the Clergy, the Archpriest will be careful in matters of greater moment to ask his opinion and advice, so that everything may be directed in a more orderly manner, with greater light and peace, to the glory of God.'" "It is obvious," adds Father Gerard, "that such an injunction is altogether caricatured by the summary we have seen."

It is well that Father Gerard has called attention to this point, which is important.

In the first place, I must take the opportunity of correcting a verbal inaccuracy into which I inadvertently fell in the first passage quoted above, and must ask the reader to substitute (vol. i. p. xvi) the words "obtain the advice" for "follow the advice." There is certainly a difference, which may be important, between an injunction to get advice and to follow it, though there may also be circumstances in which the one is virtually equivalent to the other. On the other hand, Father Gerard is quite mistaken in supposing that the clause in question has never before been quoted textually. There was no need for him to translate it from a manuscript copy in the English college at Rome. The whole passage in which the clause occurs was given in the original Latin as well as in a literal translation by John Colleton, in his "Just Defence of the

[a] These words of Cajetan are as emphatically quoted, with Colleton's comment upon them, in *Jesuits and Seculars* (p. lxiii).

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Slandered Priests" (p. 175), a work which should be in the hands of everyone who wishes to form a fair judgment upon the matter. The words in debate are, "Curabit Archipresbyter in rebus maioribus iudicium quoque eius, consiliumque acquirere;" or, in Colleton's English, "The Archpriest shall take care, in matters of greater moment, to obtain his judgment and counsel."[a]

Father Gerard, then, appears to regard this injunction as little more than a general exhortation to peace and concord, with a suggestion that, as a means to this concord, there should be mutual conference and counsel. But this is to misunderstand or ignore the whole historical setting of the clause and its bearing upon subsequent events. Indeed, its true significance and purport can best be made clear by a brief sketch of its history.

This history will then make it clear (1) that at the very outset of the controversy, in the judgment of the most reasonable of the Appellants, the clause virtually placed the secular clergy and their superior under the control of Garnet[b]; (2) that Blackwell himself, so far from attempting to modify this judgment, behaved continually in such a manner as practically to confirm it; (3) that the alleged subserviency of the Archpriest to the Society formed the main ground of the Appeal of 1600; (4) that while the Appellants strove eagerly at Rome to get the clause in question rescinded, Blackwell and Parsons as strenuously fought for its retention; and, (5) that when the Pope, acceding to the petition of the Appellants, not only abrogated this part of Cajetan's instructions but strictly forbade the Archpriest in future to consult the Jesuits in England or elsewhere on the affairs of his office, the true import of the Cardinal's words,

[a] Blackwell's own rendering of the clause in his summary of letters and briefs submitted to the Government in 1607 was, "that the Archpriest in causes of greater importance should use the advice of the Superior of the Jesuits because he was a man of great experience in the affairs of England."

[b] Beliefs, fears, and suspicions, most potent factors in the history of any party, cannot be ignored as non-existent or as mere pretences because in the opinion of a critic three centuries later these beliefs and fears were not justified by the circumstances. Nor, in the case of the Appellants, can their motives be fairly judged without reading their own books.

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in the mind of Parsons, is discovered through the intrigues and subterfuges by which, for the next seven years, he endeavoured to evade the papal prohibition and to restore in effect the original clause.

The historian, who follows in the wake of neither Jesuit nor Appellant, and has before his eyes the mass of documents printed in the fifth volume of Tierney's "Dodd," must come to the conclusion that the clause in debate was the main hinge upon which the Archpriest controversy turned in its earlier and later stages, from 1598 to 1609. The cry for bishops, the demand for a fair distribution of alms, for reform in the administration of the seminaries, for abstention from politics, for the appointment of an accredited agent of the clergy at Rome, all sprang from, or were intensified by, the desire to secure a government of the secular clergy independent of the control or dominant influence of a handful of Jesuits; and the clause was naturally regarded as the main obstacle to this coveted independence. For if the Archpriest were a friend of the Jesuits he would, in virtue of his instructions, feel justified in following their lead, political and ecclesiastical; if he were hostile to the Jesuits, the obligation to consult them would force him on all important occasions to show his cards, and lead to the frustration of every project opposed to their wishes; for Parsons and his colleagues at the English College presented at Rome, as events showed, a well-nigh impenetrable barrier to access to the Papal Court.

To understand the Appellants' point of view in 1598 it must be remembered that at that date there were more than 300 seminary priests in England, about 40 or 50 old Marian clergy, and 15 Jesuit priests,[a] say one Jesuit to 24 seculars, the whole number of

[a] These fifteen were—

1. H. Garnet, *alias* Whalley, Darcy, Farmer, etc.
2. E. Weston, *alias* Edmunds.
3. R. Holtby, *alias* Ducket, Fetherston, etc.
4. T. Lister, *alias* Butler.
5. R. Jones, *alias* Holland, Draper, Northe.
6. J. Bennet, *alias* Price, Flood, Baker.

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Jesuits being less by half the number of priests who signed the Appeal. Several of the Jesuits at this time were comparatively new comers, possessing far less experience on the mission than had now been gained by such recognised leaders of the clergy as Colleton or Mush. The discords which had already arisen between the two sections of the clergy, the adherents and opponents of the Jesuits, have been described in the Introduction to the former volume. The appointment of the Archpriest was intended, so the letters of Cajetan declared, to put an end to these quarrels and establish unity and peace. But Blackwell was already known as a strong partisan of the Jesuits and the author of what appeared to be an exaggerated eulogium of the Society.[a] Moreover, the presumption that he was nominated to the office by Parsons rises at least to the very highest degree of probability. Now, Blackwell was not made Superior of the Roman Church in England, or even of the missionary clergy. He had jurisdiction over the secular priests from the seminaries only. He had no authority whatever over the Jesuits, and yet he was bound to consult them in the government of his own subjects. The Jesuit Superior, in the government of his body, was not so bound to consult the Archpriest.

In these circumstances, Wm. Bishop, seeing that the Assistants appointed for Blackwell also belonged to the party favouring the

7. J. Gerard, *alias* Standish, Brook, Lee, etc.
8. E. Oldcorne, *alias* Hall, Hutton, Parker.
9. T. Stanney, *alias* Pinke.
10. R. Coulling, *alias* Collin
11. R. Collins } of whom little is known.
12. E. Walpole, *alias* Pauper.
13. J. Percy, *alias* Fisher, Fairfax.
14. R. Banks, *alias* Stanhope.
15. R. Blunt, *alias* Mann, Udall, Randall, Basset, Mildmay, etc.

[a] Blackwell wrote to the Cardinal Protector, Jan. 10, 1597: "So far are these holy fathers estranged from all appetite of seeking to bear rule, as in every place they prefashion unto us an example of rare humility, mildness, patience, piety, and charity" (Colleton's translation). The whole letter is printed in *Jesuits and Seculars*, p. 137.

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Jesuits, made a request to him that, for the sake of peace, some of the remaining Assistants, who were left to be chosen by Blackwell himself, should be selected from priests of the other side. He answered that "the most Illustrious Lord Protector had provided that those who were the authors of war and bickerings with the Fathers should be removed from all charge and government. For grapes cannot be gathered of thorns nor figs of thistles." Upon this, Colleton, after quoting the passage from Cajetan's instructions, cited by Father Gerard, thus comments: "Now we appeal to the judgment of the wise whether these things do not seem (and this was all that we said) to bewray partiality in the choice of the Archpriest and his counsellors. Or whether the contention now on foot among us (and for appeasing whereof the Subordination is said to be instituted) being betwixt the Jesuits and the Secular Priests, were like by this choice to take an happy or a peaceable end, when the Superior appointed had before so engaged himself in the false praises of the one side, and alike untruly derogated from the deserts of the other: when all the Assistants must be of the Jesuits party, and none for us whom they impugned: when father Garnet, our capital adversary, by express order must be called to consultation in all matters of moment, and nothing pass without his advice: when his calling also to consultation must be holden for a supreme benefit and furtherance of matters, and for a greater increase of order, light, peace, and the glory of God; and yet admitting of any of our side to the same consultation must be deemed as little consonant to peace and reason as for men to seek grapes upon thorns or figs upon thistles" (p. 175).

If the fears and suspicions here expressed were unfounded, some evidence would be forthcoming that Blackwell, while these instructions were in force, acted on occasions independently of Garnet or of Jesuit influence, or that his conduct towards the Appellants—conduct now commonly censured as ill-judged and tyrannical—met with the disapproval of his Jesuit advisers. This is far from

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being the case. The public Appeal to Rome signed by the Thirty-three priests, and addressed in form to Blackwell himself, puts the Jesuits in front of their indictment. "Very many," it begins, "and most unworthy are those things which for these two years past we have endured at the hands of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus and of your Reverence both approving and multiplying the injuries done." The charge is, in effect, that the injuries complained of were initiated by the Jesuits, and that Blackwell throughout defended, supported and carried them out. That this complaint was not made without ground is, I think, clear.

The first grievance stated in the Appeal is the dissemination by the Jesuit Lister of a violent denunciation of the Appellants as guilty of schism, and Blackwell's approval of the treatise. This *Adversus Factiosos* was a counterblast to the equally offensive and violent memorial against the Jesuits similarly disseminated in manuscript some years earlier by the firebrands of the opposite side. The first act of the Appellants on receiving this document was to write to Blackwell asking if he approved it. His curt answer was, "I allow of the said discourse." They then requested him to revoke it. He replied that the request was unreasonable, "because the medicine ought not to be removed before the sore be thoroughly cured" (April 1599). Father Gerard admits that this treatise which the Archpriest thus "formally approved and the Pope condemned," was "indefensible." But did the Archpriest, on so grave an occasion, fail to take counsel of the Jesuit Superior whose subject was causing such a turmoil? or did Garnet, on his own account, disavow the treatise or give any sign of disapproval? On the contrary, the latter wrote to Colleton, "Ye have in the judgment of the learned incurred the most shameful note of schism." Colleton then complained to Blackwell of the language of both Lister and Garnet, and got for his answer, "You ought for their writings and admonitions to have thanked them in a dutiful and humble manner." An unpleasant colour is given to the complicity of Garnet in this matter by a private letter written by him to the

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General of the Society, which suggests to Father Gerard (as if in some palliation of Lister's act) that Lister's brain was affected. The fact is, that in 1597, Garnet had written to the General that he was in great trouble and anxiety how to deal with Lister, "whose every disorder (morbus) proceeds not so much from infirmity of brain as from perturbation and levity of mind." Yet in the following year the production of this intemperate and fickle character is referred to by Garnet himself as the "judgment of the learned."

The second grievance of the Appellants is what Father Gerard terms Blackwell's "extraordinary lack of judgment" and "ill-advised severity" in insisting that his opponents should acknowledge themselves to have been guilty of schism and do penance after they had submitted to the papal decision and surrendered to the Archpriest's authority. But, again, was this Blackwell's own unprompted judgment? He announced it in these terms: "We have received a resolution from our Mother City that the refusers of the appointed authority were schismatics; and surely I would not give absolution to any that should make no conscience thereof," etc. The authors of the Appeal and their friends declare that, when pressed, Blackwell admitted that this resolution came from Father Tichbourn or Father Walford, Jesuits residing at Rome. "Yet," add the Appellants, "your reverence did so propose and grace the same, as many then did and yet do believe, that the said resolution came as a definitive sentence from the see apostolic." Garnet in England cannot be made responsible for the indiscretions of Jesuits in Rome, but unless there was little unity or discipline among his own subjects it may be presumed that he approved, as Blackwell certainly did, the assertion of Father Jones, a theologian of the Society, who now went a step further than Lister in declaring that all who defended the malcontents from the charge of schism would themselves fall under the censures of the Church.

Blackwell, then, cannot fairly be made the scapegoat of the

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contending parties. It is impossible to dissociate his conduct from that of his Jesuit advisers. He was severely reprimanded by the Pope, for he was ultimately responsible, as the immediate superior of the Appellants; but the Cardinals who tried the case, in the report which formed the basis of the Brief, charitably excuse him, "inasmuch as he was not learned in the law, and because it is probable that *he acted for the most part by the counsel of others.*"

When there was question at Rome of abrogating the clause, the Archpriest's agents, in a Memorial drawn up by Parsons, made a show, on behalf of the Jesuits, of generously abandoning it. The Fathers, it is said, never possessed or desired a particle of jurisdiction or power over the secular clergy, and if this single clause in Cajetan's instructions, concerning which the Appellants are so vindictively agitating, appears to present any inconvenience, his Holiness can easily determine as seems good to him. But presently, when the removal of the clause was imminent, another Memorial went up from the same quarter, pointing out two evils which must result. First, it would be a slur upon the Fathers, both in the eyes of Catholics and of heretics. Secondly, the carrying out of the Archpriest's office would be rendered in many cases impossible. Very forcibly it is urged that the Archpriest cannot procure residences and maintenance for priests sent into England by the Jesuits, "who govern the seminaries," unless he obtains information from the Fathers regarding them; nor can he in England in any way provide for the same clergy except by the care, industry and charity of the same Fathers.[a] If the clause is removed all this special business of the Fathers, built up with

[a] This was indeed the case. The few English Fathers, backed by the resources of a powerful Society, with extraordinary energy and daring, and with the command of the purses of rich laymen, had supported and built up the mission on the foundations laid by Allen. They were making themselves well-nigh indispensable. They held a number of the clergy in the hollow of their hands. It was an abnormal state of things. Reaction and revolt, even apart from the political quarrel, were inevitable. The Jesuits were naturally tenacious of their hardly-won position and power, and the seculars as naturally tenacious of their liberty and independence.

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much risk and labour, must fall to the ground, and result in irreparable mischief. In a letter written chiefly in cypher to Garnet in August, before the publication of the Brief, Parsons wrote: "As for the clause 450, 39, &c., it must stand for the present; otherwise there would be no peace: after, when inconveniences are proved, they may be represented by means of 266, who, with help of 255, may procure sufficient remedy." At the last moment Blackwell's procurators in vain suggested to the Pope that it should be set down in the Brief, at least by way of parenthesis, that the Jesuits had themselves petitioned that the clause should be removed.[a] The Pope, however, allowed it to be stated that the Fathers approved of the alteration. It may be well here to give the exact terms of the paragraph in the Brief dealing with the question:—

"Atque ut tu [Blackwell] sine ulla cujusquam offensione, ac majore cum animorum quiete, et omnium pace et concordiâ, officio tuo fungaris, authoritate apostolicâ, tenore presentium, tibi in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ mandamus, ut nulla negotia ad officium tuum spectantia expedias, communices, aut tractes cum provinciali societatis Jesu, vel aliis religiosis ejusdem societatis in Anglia existentibus; ne scilicet novæ discordiæ et contentionis inter eos et presbyteros appellantes occasio præbeatur; ac propterea instructionem tibi à dicto Henrico Cardinale Cajetano, super hac re traditam, pari authoritate per presentes penitus tollimus et abrogamus. Insuper tibi præcipimus ne de ecclesiæ Anglicanæ administratione et regimine, vel de rebus ad dictum regimen et officium tuum pertinentibus, per literas, vel interpositam personam, vel alio quovis modo cum religiosis ejusdem societatis in Romana curia, vel alibi ubicunque commorantibus agas; sed omnia ad nos, et Romanum pontificem, aut ad protectorem pro tempore existentem referas. Non quòd nos aliquid sinistri aut mali de iisdem religiosis suspicamur, quos scimus sincero pietatis zelo duci, et quæ Dei sunt verè quærere; sed quòd pro pace et quiete inter catholicos

[a] Tierney, iii. clxxxii., quoting from the Gradwell MSS.

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in eo regno tuendâ sic convenire judicamus : quod et iidem religiosi societatis verum esse, atque expedire censuerunt."

The Brief, then, was clear and explicit. The clause in the instructions given to Blackwell by Cardinal Cajetan was utterly annulled and abrogated. Moreover, the Archpriest, to whom the Brief was addressed, was prohibited in future from treating of the government or administration of the English Church, or of affairs connected with his office, either by letter or by personal intermediaries, or in any way whatever, with the Fathers of the Society residing in Rome or elsewhere. All such matters were to be referred directly to the Pope or the Cardinal Protector.

With the publication of this decree the first chapter in the history of the clause comes to an end, and the documents in the Petyt Collection carry us no further. But for the more complete justification of the summary presented in the first volume, and censured by my critic as a caricature, I may be permitted to briefly touch upon the sequel, as it is recorded by Tierney and supported by the documents printed in his fifth volume, to which the curious reader must go for further particulars.

In October 1603, twelve months after the Brief appeared, Blackwell wrote to the Protector, Cardinal Farnese, with the object of obtaining a reversal of the decree ; and it is significant that his letter was sealed with the seal of the secretary of the Society, and its address was in the handwriting of Parsons himself. The text of this letter I have not seen. The statement is made on the authority of Tierney (v. 15), who had the letter in his hands. Other communications seem to have passed with a view of minimising the purport of the prohibition if it could not be entirely cancelled. Farnese, on Feb. 10, 1607, sends to Blackwell the Pope's interpretation of the Brief. "His Holiness wished me to declare that the clause . . . . must be understood in this sense, that it may be lawful for the Archpriest to confer with the Fathers freely for his own help and consolation on matters which relate to the Catholic religion itself, to cases of conscience

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and to spiritual affairs, *but not on the government of his subjects*, and of politics or affairs of state" [De gubernatione vero vestrorum subditorum et de rebus politicis vel status, ut aiunt, dominationi vestræ licitum non erit quidquam cum ipsis patribus impertiri].

On Feb. 1 of the following year Blackwell, having been deposed for his approval of the oath of allegiance, was succeeded by Birkhead. The new Archpriest was, like his predecessor, a friend of the Jesuits, but unlike Blackwell was of a mild and conciliatory disposition, and apparently timid. He shrank from the burden imposed on him, and wrote at once to Parsons to help to relieve him of it. Parsons replied that it was impossible. "You must think God has chosen you to bear the brunt; and there is no remedy but to put your shoulders under it" (May 18, 1608). The clergy, taken by surprise, once more suspected intrigue in the appointment, and their first impulse was again to appeal to Rome. Their leaders, however, more prudently feared to raise fresh quarrels, and advised more peaceful measures. They approached Birkhead himself and solicited from him an answer to three questions. First, would he promise religiously to observe the Brief of Clement, forbidding him to consult the Jesuits in the government of the clergy? Secondly, would he choose his Assistants, as occasion offered, from among the graver priests? And, lastly, would he, as their pastor or father, promote their interests and welfare, and not strive to erect other edifices upon their ruin?

The tables are, indeed, curiously turned. A request from the former malcontents that their superior should obey the Pope's commands reads like cruel irony. Yet Birkhead meekly gave his promise on all points *in verbo sacerdotis*, and the priests on their side as solemnly promised obedience.

But presently, feeling the isolation and helplessness of his position, and perhaps conscious that he had not won the full confidence of the ablest and most influential of his clergy, or fearing to provoke the passive obstruction of the Society if he threw himself into the arms of the Appellant party, the new Archpriest yearned for

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the support of the strong arm of his friend at Rome. In the teeth, then, of the papal prohibition, which he had promised faithfully to observe, he wrote to Parsons expressing a desire to treat with the Fathers on clerical affairs—a desire which he afterwards admitted was *most displeasing to the greater part of his clergy*—and suggesting a scruple, whether the prohibition in the Brief which bound his predecessor was equally obligatory upon himself. He was beginning to treat the Brief as the Appellants had been accused of treating the Letters of Cajetan. If his scruple had some ground—for the Brief in terms was addressed to Blackwell personally—it was a question which should have been referred for solution directly to the Pope or the Protector. Parsons replied as might be expected. He was profuse in his expressions of personal attachment to Birkhead, promised to put the question at the first opportunity to the Pope, and meanwhile assured the Archpriest that by consulting the Fathers on the affairs of his office he would not be acting in opposition to the intentions of the late Pope Clement, nor to the wishes of the present Pope Paul V. He furthermore promised Birkhead the support of the Society if he on his side would adhere to them. These facts are derived from Birkhead's own candid account of the matter given to the Vice Protector, Cardinal Bianchetti, December 6, 1610. In one letter written to Birkhead, August 21, 1608, Parsons, with amazing perversity, referred to the interpretation of Farnese above quoted, saying: "Paul explained his meaning to be, and this by Card. Farnesius to Mr. Blackwell, *as I suppose you have heard*, that the prohibition was to be understood *only of treating together matters of state* or that might justly offend the state." As Parsons can hardly have supposed that Birkhead would not know this to be false, the statement may be meant to suggest a common line of defence. In any case, a regular correspondence was resumed. The clergy remonstrated. The old grievances returned; and it appears that Mush was drawing no caricature of the state of things when he wrote to Card. Arrigoni (Jan. 30, 1609), that Parsons had ordered the Archpriest to send

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all letters destined for his Holiness or the Protector, unsealed and open, to himself or his Fitzherbert, "as a little boy would to his schoolmaster."

But such a gross violation of the papal decrees became in time an intolerable burden upon the conscience of Birkhead. Parsons's assurances remained unconfirmed by the Pope or anyone else. The Archpriest accordingly changed his tactics, assembled his own clergy, selected from among them the principal Appellants as his Assistants, ascertained the general wish for episcopal government, and consented to unite with them for the purpose of obtaining it. Birkhead still wished to entrust the negotiation to Parsons and Fitzherbert. The clergy were dissatisfied with such an arrangement. It was remembered that in 1606 Dr. Champney and Dr. Cecil had gone to Rome, carrying the names of some seventy priests soliciting bishops, and had been thwarted by Parsons, who denounced them as the enemies of religion, and petitioned that Cecil at least should be seized and put on his trial. They, therefore, naturally distrusted Parsons. The matter was compromised by the mission of Dr. Richard Smith, afterwards bishop of Chalcedon, and Thomas More, with instructions to consult and co-operate with Father Parsons. The first object of their embassy was to obtain a final decision of the Pope regarding the controverted right of the Archpriest to communicate with the Jesuits on the government of the clergy, a decision which Parsons had already (as we have seen) promised Birkhead to obtain.

After some fresh difficulties, now made by Parsons, were overcome, Smith had audience of the Pope on May 24, 1609. He presented a memorial requesting to know how far the clause in Clement's Brief, which forbade the Archpriest Blackwell to hold official intercourse with the Fathers of the Society, was binding on his successor. The reply was prompt and decisive. Blackwell's successors were equally included in the prohibition; and Cardinal Bianchetti was instructed officially to communicate the decision to Birkhead. The Archpriest, at last completely converted to the

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views of the majority of his clergy, welcomed the "joyful news" and wrote a circular to his Assistants exhorting them to peace, and to courteous behaviour towards the Fathers, "*now that our government is by his Holiness so resolutely devolved upon ourselves.*"

Thus the fierce controversy, raised in 1598 by the famous clause, terminated after a struggle of eleven years. From the point of view of the secular priests Birkhead's triumphant exclamation puts the matter in a nutshell. They were fighting for legitimate self-government, which in their opinion, in that of their new Archpriest, and, as it seems, in that of the Pope also, had been imperilled by the injudicious and ill-fated sentence in Cajetan's instructions.

One word on the question of the number of Appellant priests. However strong or numerous was the party antagonistic to the Jesuit schemes before the appointment of the Archpriest, it was only to be expected that comparatively few, after that event, would dare to proclaim themselves openly on the side of the Appellants, and so run the risks of suspension, loss of residence, and loss of means of subsistence. Those of the party who came to the front were either men of high courage and strong character, or prisoners who had little to fear or little to lose, and possibly something to gain. But there were clearly many more than the thirty-three signatories of the Appeal who secretly adhered to its principles. Abroad, many independent and learned doctors sided with the Appellants; and Fathers Parsons and Cresswell even attribute the movement which originated the Benedictine mission to sympathy with their opponents. After the publication of the Brief of 1602 and the partial triumph of the Appellants, inasmuch as they were judicially freed from the odious charge of schism and their chiefs given a place among the Assistants of the Archpriest in the government of the mission, the mass of the clergy was more or less animated with the principles and policy which distinguished Bishop and Colleton, Mush and Champney, or the martyrs Robert Drury and Roger Cadwallador. We have seen Birkhead ad-

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mitting that his desire to re-open communication with the Jesuits on ecclesiastical affairs was opposed to the wishes of "the greater part of the priests"; and the general tendency and habit of mind which had marked the Appellants now became characteristic of the secular clergy in England, as a whole, for the next two centuries.

I have in conclusion, to record my special thanks to Professor Kirkpatrick, Mr. Archibald Constable, and, as before, to the Rev. W. E. Addis for very substantial aid in correcting proofs and in suggesting the interpretation or emendation of obscure passages in the original documents.

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THE ARCHPRIEST CONTROVERSY.

I.

THREE ENGLISH NARRATIVES.

1. *Mush's Diary.*

54, f. 190.

A charte of their affayres in Rome. Mr. Mushe.

A°.D. 1602.

Mr. D. Ce[*cil*] *Mr. Blu*[*et*] *Mr. Mu*[*sh*] *Mr. Cham*[*pney*].

FEB.

The 14. being Thursday we arrived in Rome. alla Spada.

The 15. we entred into Dusana at 10 Δ [a] by mounthe. The Frenche Embas.[b] sent vs word that he had direction from his K. to protect vs, & so he would but willed vs to kepe secret 6 or 7 daies, till he received other letters, w^ch^ he dayly expected. Ca. Do.[c] sent vs word that he also would assist vs in what he could. yett willed, we should kepe in for a few dayes. And to present o^r^selues

[a] Ducats or crowns.

[b] Philippe de Bethune, brother of the Duke of Sully. He had been sent on an Embassy to Scotland by Henri IV. in the summer of 1599, and came to Rome in 1601.

[c] D'Ossat, misspelled in this document "Dossacke" or "Dosake," sometime agent for Henri IV. at Rome, created cardinal in 1598.

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first to the Protector[a] & Viceprotector least by omitting that ordinarie course, we should make them o[r] Enimies.

The 16. like word & comforth was brought from the Emb. & Ca. D[ossat]. The Embas. sent vs word to prouide for audience against Friday or Saterday in Shrove weeke.

The 20. w[ch] was Ashe Wed. in the morning we went to Chiesa nova. ther M[r] Mushe mett w[t] M[r] Baynes who caried first the newes of o[r] arryval to Fa. Parsons.

2. Father Botius[b] was verie frendly & comfortable.

3. After dinner we went to visite the Franche Embaso, and found that order was sent him from his Kinge to protect vs. He was verie frendly.

4. Next we went to visite Card. Farnesius Protector: who was not well. & so we could not speake w[t] him.

5. Thence we went to Card. Burgesius Viceprotector. in the way we mett w[t] Fa: Parsons & D. Haddocke & Baynes all in a coche, they had been at Card. Burges. before vs. We found this Card. frendly in wordes & promises. He condemned o[r] disobedience to the Archep[t]. cleared vs of schisme.

6. Thence we went to the Inquisition where we found the Commissarie verie frendly. he found greate fault w[t] certaine Inglishe bookes printed in England w[ch] had bene deliuered him. conteynyng much bad matter. thes were laid to o[r] charge by him. as before by Card. Burges. but we disclamed from them as in truthe we were not priuie to the making or divulging of them, nor did knowe the auther or what they conteyned. the 2 Latin bookes we stood too. & the Commissarie commended them.

The 21. we returned to visite Card. Farnesius who would not be seene but sent vs word to repaire to Card. Burgesius if we had any

[a] Odoardo Farnese, son of the Prince of Parma, succeeded Cajetan as Cardinal Protector of England. Card. Camillo Borghese (Burgesius), afterwards Pope Paul V., was appointed Vice-Protector.

[b] Tomaso Bozio of the Oratory, author of the *De Signis Ecclesiæ* (Colon. 1592), a section of which work (lib. xii. cap. 22) is devoted to the persecution of English Catholics under Elizabeth, and contains a list of the martyrs.

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matter to imparte. after 4 or 5 daies he should be at leasure & then we should returne againe if we had need to speake w^t him. This we iudged at the first to procede from the Spanishe Embas. whom Fa. Pars. had sent to him the night before when he could not haue audience him selfe. [but we found after that it was by reason of his sickness, for Card. Bel[larmin] and others could not haue audience.][a]

We visited Card. Dosacke who interteyned vs w^t all frendlyness. 2.

The 22. we visited Card. Boneviso,[b] who interteyned vs kindly. & willed vs to go to the College to Fa. Parsons, Also to vse Fa: Pars: well & frendly in respect of his manifould good dedes he had done for o^r countrie.

We returned to Card. Burges. who used vs frendly & tould us 2. he had signified to his Ho: o^r arrival & how we desired audience. who answered we should haue audience willingly.

The Franche Embas. had audience, tould also his Ho: of o^r being 3. in Rome. and desire to haue audience.

The 23. we went to know of the French Embas. what answere the Pope gaue him touching vs. but he was not at home. Then we went to Card. Burges. to desire him to deferr to speake to his Hol: for o^r audience. bycause we hoped to haue audience by the Frenche Emb. meanes.

The 24. we repaired againe to the Fr. Emb. to knowe his Ho: answere. He tould vs, that when he rehearsed to his Ho: how his King had written to him in o^r behaulfe & to assist & protect vs. his Ho: answered he knew so muche before.

Againe when he desired that we might be hard, his Ho: answered 2. we should, & he would heare vs him selfe. He asked what we were, & how we came out of Ingland. And found fault w^t bookes published. He answered for thes particulars he knewe litle but it was certaine his King had good & sufficient information of us before he so recommendid vs.

[a] These words were inserted after the paragraph was written.

[b] Bonviso Buonvisi of Lucca.

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His Ho: said he hard we were contentious and troublesome.

He answered that if it pleased his Ho: to heare & to examine all, o^r^ adversaries would be found guiltie of those crimes, & we to seeke nothing but pease here, etc.

3. We went to Card. Dosacke to certifie him what we had done the daies before. who gaue vs good comforte.

The 25. we visited Card. Farnesius, who curteously receyved us and promised all fauoure & furtherance in the causes for o^r^ countries good. He willed us to repaire to Card. Burg.

The 26. we were w^t^ Fa. Bozzius, and w^t^ him we found Father Walpoole come out of Spaine, conferring w^t^ him against vs and o^r^ affaires.

The 27. we were w^t^ the French Embas. to knowe when we might meet w^t^ Seraphin,[a] & to consult how to procede. Fa. Parsons had been w^t^ him in the mornyng but was denied audience vntil [the] next day.

The 28. we went to the Fren: Embas. who tould vs that Fa. Parsons had bene w^t^ him, & accused vs to be factious, & seditious, to deale in matters of suite for heretikes, that the priestes were more exclamed against to be bad men, in the Parlament, than the Jesuits. that we were few in number: w^t^ a 1000 other slanders & calumnies. but he answered him not to his pay.

This day M^r^ Blu. separated him selfe from dealing and imparting his affaires & consels w^t^ vs 3. M^r^ D. Ce. M^r^ M. & M^r^ Ch. & joyned him selfe w^t^ D. Peres.[b]

Doc. Peres denied vs o^r^ letter of Fa. Parsons to Fa. Holt from Genua touching staite matters. w^ch^ we had lent him the weeke before to take a copie of, & to translate.

[a] Seraphin Olivier, Dean of the Rota, Patriarch of Alexandria, raised to the Cardinalate 17 September, 1603.

[b] Dr. William Percy (Pearse or Persens) was ordained priest at Douai in 1578, and afterwards resided chiefly in Paris or Brussels. He, with Dr. Stapleton, was requested by Cardinal Cajetan to advise the Nuncio at Brussels regarding English affairs in 1598 (*Douay Diaries*, pp. 368, 374, 400). He seems now to have belonged to the household of the French ambassador at Rome. See his letters *infra*.

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This Doctor we found now, verie headye & contentious and redy to faule out w^t vs 3. at every word or occasion, & drawyng M^r Bluet from vs to him selfe. that they two might deale alone in affaires w^t out o^r knowledge, &c.

MARCHE.

The 1. being Friday the Fran. Embas. had audience ordinarie; w^t him to the palace went D. Peres & M^r Bluet, w^tout o^r priuitie. At night D. Peres came, & willed vs all to come the next day after dynner to his chamber, for he must bring vs to the Franc. Emb. by his direction.

The 2. we carried o^r speache to the Embas. o^r audience was procured to be on Mounday after dynner. 4. March.

The 3. we received the speache againe and the Embas. aduise. who as a father was careful for vs. We received a letter from M^r Hil. of y^e 12. of Feb. & one from M^r Ed. B[ennet] of the 21. Decem.

The 4. we found Fa: Pars. w^t Fa: Thomas Bozzius. but saw him not. as also Walpole[a] & bene w^t him before. & Sweet & others.

The 4.[b] we went to the Palace to have audience but it being the publike audience for the Signatura we were disapoin[ted]. there we mett Fa. Pars. & Fa. Smith, he marveled we were so strang as not to come to the Colledg, nor to conuerse familiarly w^t him & others on his side. He said he was glad of o^r commyng to Rome for now all would be ended. the proctors of the Archep^t were in Flanders comming to Rome.

The 5.[c] we went to Card. Dosake shewed him o^r speache. whether Fa: Pars. & Fa: Smith came & attended the end of o^r audience & then staed w^t the Card. 2 houres. tho the Card. sent him word [to co]me an other tyme.

[a] Father Richard Walpole, the hero of the fictitious "Squier's Plot," now Parsons' secretary at Rome, and afterwards rector of the seminaries of Seville and Valladolid. Jessopp's *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, p. 289, *seq.*

[b] 5 originally, but altered.

[c] 6 originally.

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The 5.[a] we had audience before his Hol. at 22. the space of an houre. He answered to all the poyntes of o^r speache, said he had hard verie manye euyl things against vs, as that we had sett out bookes contenyng heresies, that we came to defend heretikes against his authoritie, in that he might not depose heretical princes &c. that we came sent by Heretikes vpon their cost, that we were not obedient to the Sea Apostolike & the Arche p^t constituted by him. for a tolleration or libertie of conscience in England, it would do harme and make Catholikes become heretikes, that persecution was profitable to the Churche & therfore not to be so muche laboured for to be auerted or staied by tolleration,[b] . . . offendid that we named hir Queene whome the Sea Apostolike had deposed & excommunicated. So that we knewe not how to name hir. for confessions we had hard, & the scruples of conscience rising thervpon, it was no matter he said, if we were Heretikes. he asked what reasons we had to refuse the Archep^t. Our protestation of obedience to him, he cauled verba, & parole. all we proposed seemed to dislike him, he said o^r reasons & matters should be hard, & examined, by Card. Burgesius & Card. Arrigonius. commandid vs to imparte o^r affaires to no mo Cardinals but to them two.

3. We returned to the Embas. related to him, he comforted vs, willed vs to sett downe in a paper for his memorie, what we demandid, he would deale w^t his Ho: to have some favorable Card. or indifferent joyned with these two.

The 7. we returned to him w^t our demandes, he said he could not move his Ho: to remove Card. Burg. & Arrig. but would do what he could to have some indifferent joined w^t them, as he should find his Ho: disposed. bycause his K. had not written expresly to him to vndertake our affaires as his, he could not deale openly & shewe him selfe to stand for vs, as otherwise he would, willed us to solicite w^t the K. that he

[a] 6 erased.

[b] About a dozen words have been struck out here, apparently by the writer himself.

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might be commandid more. & to procure that they of England might, tho in secrete manner or insinuation, move the K. to further o^r causes, this would helpe muche. wherby we perceived that o^r helpes by France were not so effectuall as we hoped & were borne in hand. We visited Card. Burgesius.

The 8. we hard that Fa: Parsons reported that the Frenche Embas. beganne to forsake vs. w^c.r we could se no ground of. We went to visite Card. Burgesius & Card. Arrigo[nius,] who gave vs good wordes. said they had hard nothing from his Hol. touching o^r affaires. for he was sick of the chiragra.

The 14. we went to Card. Burges. & Arrigon. to knowe if they had received any order from his Hol. touching the deputation for o^r affaires. They had not spoken w^t him nor hard any thing. for his Ho. was still sicke. All thes 7 or 8 daies M^r M[ush] & M^r Champ[ney] were sicke of the catarr. This 14. M^r M. went to visite Card. Bellermine who was said to be offendid w^t them, by their aduersaries calumnies. He could not be spoken w^t then. but desired [us] to come tow daies after. We deliuered to Card. Burg. & Arrogon o^r tow Latine Bookes, & a supplication that whosoeuer would obiect any thing against vs might do yt in writing subsined w^t their names, or els we might not be charged to answere it. We first met M^r Haddocke at Card. Burg. house.

The 15. we returned to them to knowe what order his Ho: had given about o^r affaires. they said he had commandid them to heare what we would say, & propose. And willed also that whatsoeuer should be brought against vs to answere, should be in writing. & this Card. Burg. said he would send to Fa: Pars. that night that he might sett downe all in writing. But said his Hol. would not there should be any subscribing of names to any thing we should make answere to. or to be obiected.

The 16. we went to Card. Arrigon. he tould vs the same.

Also to the lord Embas. to desire him to remember vs in his audience that day w^t his Ho: & to knowe his pleasure of

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the restrante he maid that we should not resorte to Cardinals & imparte o^r affaires to them.

We visited two Frenche priests o^r frendes w^ch gave vs good consel. one of them lett vs see the Latine Apollogie Parsons had maid. but could not lett vs haue it.

The 17. we went to Card. Burges. to knowe what Fa: Pars. had exhibited against vs. we found nothing.

The 18. we went to the French Embas. & so to visite Card. Aldobrandino but found him not at home.

The 19 in like sorte, but he was to go to Frescato, & we could haue no audience.

We were w^t Card. Dosake. to lett him see o^r reasons.

We visited Card. Cinthio. St. Georg.[a]

The 21. we went to Card. Burges to knowe what Fa: Par. had exhibited against vs, but he had done nothing, but 2 daies before had bene w^t the Card. to request larger tyme. for he was to collect things out of manye bookes.

The 22. M^r M. went to visite Card. Belarmine, w^t whome he had longe and frendly conference. He confessed the relation sett in the Latine booke to the Pope,[b] aboute his letter to Fa: Pars. to be verie true. he tooke the two Latten bookes to read.

We visited Card. Dosake, & received backe o^r reasons. they liked him.

We were w^t the Embas. before he went to audience, of whome we vnderstood that Druman the Scot[c] had bene w^t him to compleayne as it were of vs, that we were enimies to the King of Scotts. for so Fa: Pars. assured him we were, and therfore desired the Embas. not to protect vs. The same had Druman tould M^r Bluet the day before that Fa: Pars. would perswaid the Scotts that we were enimies to their King. & the Catholikes in England that we were all for the King of Scotts.

[a] "St. Georg" inserted. Cinthio Aldobrandini, cardinal of St. George, nephew of the Pope.

[b] Mush's *Declaratio Motuum*. The other "Latin book" was Bagshaw's *Relatio*.

[c] Edward Drummond, then residing at Rome as agent of James VI.

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The 23. we were w^t Card. Aldobrandino who received vs verie frendly & appointed vs to returne on Monday after dinner w^ch was o^r Ladies Anunciation. We deliuered o^r Reasons of delay to the two deputed Cardinals, we related to the Embas. what Card. Aldobrand: said to vs.

The 24. we went to Card. Burges. touching the controuersie & the reasons. He said the Archep^ts & the Jesuits proceding in those opinions of Schisme & disobedience euer displeased his Ho: & him selfe. & so Fa: Parsons seemed to dislike it also. And doubted not but that this controuersy should be spedely decided for vs. that the Archep^t shewed him selfe to be impudent, and asked vs if he were any deuine, for his writing shewed him to be none.

We were w^t the Embas. who deliuered vs an annexum to o^r reasons from Card. Dos. and willed vs to deliuer it.

The 25. M^r M. went to Card. Bellarmine, who had red the two bookes, he found fault w^t ours for bitterness, but none w^t M^r Listers treatise, but seemed to excuse it. We went to Card. Burges. to deliuer the supplication or excuse if any thing should be in o^r writine reasons that might offend or be out of vse. He tould vs nothing could be concludid before Easter for this was Mounday in Passion Weeke. He tould us Fa: Par: would bring in his obiections against vs on Thursday next.

The 26. we visited Card. Barronius, who was frendly, but willed vs to kepe that to o^r selves.

The 30. we visited Card. Burges. & Arrigonius to knowe what Parsons had exhibited against vs, but he had not given vp his matters as yett.

They bothe had redd o^r reasons, & said they liked them, & doubted not but this controuersie would be endid shortely to o^r contentment, for, said Burges, the Archep^t his opynnion euer displeased his Ho: & the whole Courte here. He tould vs of the commyng vp of ij assistants. we hard it was M^r Parker, & M^r Archer.

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APRILL.

The 1. we carried the Embas. o^{r} reasons of the Inconveniences of the subordination, &c.

The 3. we had audience of Aldo. verie frendly.

The 9. we were w^{t} Card. Burges. & Arrigon, they tould vs that on Thursday next they would relate our controuersy to his Ho: Card. Burg. said that Schisme rebellion disobedience were all one per diuersa nomina, Card. Arigone said he saw no disobedience in vs for resisting a Cardinals letter, & doubted not but to haue the controuersie endid verie shortly, & willed vs to assure o^{r} selues that neither fauour nor rewardes nor Honor &c. should moue him any thing from doyng Justice.

The 10. we were w^{t} Card. Dosake to giue him bona Pascha. & w^{t} the Embas. & thence went to Card. Aldo: of whome we had frendly audience, yett in euery thing he seemed to excuse Fa: Parsons, & to make vs thinke that now he had no dealing for the Infanta.

The 11. being Thursday we were w^{t} Card. Burg. to knowe what his Ho: had done that day w^{t} them. who tould vs that they were to deliuer vnto vs his Ho: definition of o^{r} controuersy of Schisme & disobedience, w^{ch} they said was this. That his Ho: had defined & declared all the priests w^{ch} had delaied to admitt the new subordination before it was confirmed by his Ho. his Breve, to be free from all Schisme & disobedience in that their delay, & that the confessiones maid vnto the said priests during that delay were good, & in no case to be iterated: We desired a Breefe hereof. they said we should haue it before o^{r} departure. Laus Deo.

The 13. Fa: Pars. & his cried out against vs, saying we had falsified the two Cardinals wordes. & that they had not tould vs from his Ho: that he had declared vs to be no Schismatikes nor disobedient. Herevpon we writt our common letter to o^{r} Bretheren in England & carried to bothe the Cardinals to lett them se what we had written & were to send. Card. Burges. said he saw no

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cause but it might be sent as we had written it, for in it was the effect of his Ho: his wordes & declaration. yett willed vs to shew an other copye therof to Card. Arigon. as we did, the 14. day. & said that the next day they would in Consistorie conferr together & w^t his Ho: ther aboute.

The 15. day we came to Card: Burg: who tould vs they had talked w^t his Ho: whose answere was, that we might write so into England, adding that his Ho: would (touching silence in these matters) haue his formare Breefe obserued vnder paines therin conteyned, & this he willed vs to add to our letter, And said also that his Ho: mynd was (as he had told them that day) that by his formare breefe, he declared vs to be free from Schis. rebell. & disob: for o^r delaye. We went to Card. Arigon by Card. Burges. command^t & of him we received the like answere. wher vpon we sent our common Lattin letter into England, w^t the addition as they had commandid.[a] Thes Cardinales were offendid w^t vs that we vrged to haue this declaration in some authentical manner w^ch we did the rather for that our aduersaries had said that we had belied the Cardinals, in sayng they tould vs his Ho: had cleared vs of all Schisme & disobedience, & vrged the last breefe 10 Aug. 1601. against vs wherin they said his Ho: had condemned vs of disobedience. the Cardinals litle regard thes things, but said it sufficed his Ho: had so declared vs, & addid that his Ho: would haue the foresaid Breefe so to be vnderstoode, as that by it he intendid to cleare vs of Schisme & disobedience. They were offendid also w^t vs, for that o^r aduersarie Parsons & his, had tould them we cried all ouer the Cittye, victoria, victoria. w^ch was a meere calumnie, & so we tould the Card. but they seemed not to beleeue vs, but Arigone said we on bothe sides were *terribiles*. Thus Parsons & his endeuoured to make vs odious to all men, by their false calumnies & lies. And nowe we beganne to hope for litle good at thes Card: handes, when in so cleare & manifest a

[a] Printed in Latin and English by Colleton in his *Just Defence*, p. 291. See also *Brevis Relatio*, infra.

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cause wherin o^r^ reasons convinced them we could haue so litle iustice or fauore.

They tould vs we must come and answere to the bookes before them by his Ho: command^t^. we said we were redy when we should be cauled.

The 17. we caried the Cardinals o^r^ Grauamina Archip^ri^, Incommoda subordinationis.

The 22 we went to knowe his Ho: answere. but they had not communicated them w^t^ him. Card. Burghesius willed vs to come & declare those things viua voce, for he well vnderstoode them not. & appoynted vs the next day at XX.[a] We deliuered them the remidies, or considerations.

The 23. we came & largely discoursed of all, he hard vs frendly, & desyred vs to write them & the remedies faire for his Ho: to read, so we did.

The 24. we brought them to Card. Burges. where we found Fa: Walpoole w^t^ him, who had deliuered him certaine Articles or propositions drawen out of the Inglishe bookes, w^ch^ the Card. redd to vs, & asked vs what we thought of them, & said it were good that we answered them. We said we were redy, and so desired him to tell his Ho: yett we thought Fa: Pars: went about to deceive vs, & send o^r^ answeres to the Q. of England if any way he saw they might offend hir.

The 27. we went to Card. Burg. to desire him to remember o^r^ affaires w^t^ his Ho: theer we found M^r^ Walpoole M^r^ Parker M^r^ Archer w^t^ whome M^r^ Mu: had a lytle conference of the controuersies.

Thes iij weekes or iiij we founde the Frenshe Embas. nothing willing that we should haue audience w^t^ Aldobrand. or his Ho: nor forward in o^r^ matters, w^ch^ we imputed to the want of direction from his King, & the ill correspondence we had from o^r^ frendes in Paris. w^ch^ had not as yett answered any one letter we had sent since we came.

[a] *i.e.* o'clock. Roman reckoning.

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The 30. we went to Card. Burges. who tould vs M^r Parson[s] had put vpp, or the procuratours said he, a memorial that we should sett our handes to all those we had deliuered to the Cardinals, & his Ho: And prove the things we said against the Archeprest. We tould him this was but to protract tyme, & that for setting too o^r handes it was needless, for the proofes we would bring them. He willed vs to come to him the next day being May Day at his returne from the Congrega^on of the Inquisition, where he said he would appointe w^t Card. Arigone when they would meet, touching the bookes we were to see.

Thus hithertoo o^r business went slowely forward & nought was done.

MAY.

The first we were w^t Card. Burges. to knowe what he had done w^t his Ho: But he had not remembred vs.

The 3. we all went to Card. Burges. wher he & Card. Arigone were to shewe vs the Englishe bookes, & to knowe our answers to them. They shewed vs 7 or 8. all in Englishe, vnknowen to vs. Also manye heretical propositions w^ch Parsons had drawen out of the same bookes. We turned the cotations, & found neuer one truly alleaged nor Heretical. And then the Card. Burges. said, in dede they ar rather deducted out of thes propositions & bookes. We answered that it was the fashion of Heretikes to deduct heretical conclusion out of Holy Scripture. And that it was hard if thes bookes should be condemned as heretical, vpon Parsons' information, they hauyng no expresse heresies in them. They answered we need not doubt of that His Ho: would examine them before he condemned them.

They gave vs Parsons answere to our considerations, & willed vs to bring our probations for the Grauamina we had put vp against the Archep^t., for Parsons & the procurators denied them to be tru.

The 10. we deliuered to the Cardinals our probationes of the Grauamina. And we found Fa: Par. w^t them bothe to bring them

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commendations from the Duke of Ferrie,[a] whom Par. had bene to see at Ciuita veche, as he passed to be Viceroie of Cicilia.

The 12. we received letters from Paris. And the Embasidoure tould vs he had received more direction from his Kinge to fauoure vs, &c.

The 17. Parsons went to Ciuita veche w^{t} the Spanishe Embas: & Card. Aldobrand. We gave Card. Dosack a copie of o^{r} Refutation of Parsons' Answere. We found the Embas. more frendly.

The 21. M^{r} Champ. and M^{r} Mu: went to Card. Burges. to shewe the originals to the two procurators, touching the proofes of the grauamina. ther we found the two procuratours & two Jesuits Walpoole & Owe[n].[b] We desired the Card: that the Jesuits might not be present, bycause we had not to do w^{t} them. The Card: would not exclud them, so that the Card. two Jesuits, 2 procurators, & we two were there. We proued our allegations out of the originals, they would not acknoweledge M^{r} Blakwels hand. The two Jesuits neuer ceased prating & quarreling at euery thing. the procuratours denied the decrees of suffragies, &c. because we had them not vnder the Archep^{t} his hand. & vpon euery thing they made infinite cauils, the Jesuits euer whispering in their eares. We were muche ashamed to see so greate want of synceritie & honestie in them, but specially in the two Jesuits & Archer. We came that day but to the 7 grauamen, for they wrangled so muche & the Card. was wearied, & to go abrode. And they would not confesse any thing to be proued.

The 22. we went to Card. Arigone, deliuered him a copie of our refutations, & tould him what we had done w^{t} Card: Burg. We offered to shewe him o^{r} originals. But he said, it sufficed that we had shewed them to Card. Burg.

The 27 his Hol: beganne w^{t} the chiragra.

[a] Feria.

[b] Father Thomas Owen, who succeeded Parsons in 1610 as rector of the English College at Rome, and prefect of the English mission.

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JUNE.

The first I was w^t^ Card. Burges: about getting faculties for M^r^ D. Bisshop & craving pardone for M^r^ Charnocke, & that he might be restored to his formar staite. the Card. said he was restored alredy. Podagra. Corpus Xpi.

The 12 M^r^ D. Cic. was w^t^ Card. Arigon. M^r^ Mu. w^t^ Card: Burges. & deliuered him a supplication to the Pope for a remembrance of iiij principal poyntes of o^r^ business. & reasons to remoue the Archep^t^ & to multiply them &c. Parsons w^t^ Hadocke & the 2 proctours had bene w^t^ him immediately before & deliuered him 20 sheetes written in defence of the grauamina we had put vp & proued against the Archep^t^, when they denied them to be tru. now they defendid them. The Card^l^. said their should be no more writing, & so deliuered not to vs thos writings.

The 17. D. Cecil was w^t^ his Hol: and had fauorable audience.

The 19. Card: Burges. tould vs that the Pope had appoynted Tewisday the morrow after S^t^. Jo: Bap: for dispatche of our business.

The 20. M^r^ Parker talke w^t^ M^r^ Mushe loug in Chesa nova[a]: & would haue perswaidid him to haue secrett conference w^t^ Fa: Parson, but M^r^ M. refused.

The 20 M^r^ Mu. goyng to the Embas: he lett him se a letter in Frenche from the Frenche Embas. in England wher he writt that the Q. willed him in England to thank him in Rome from hir for his good offices in o^r^ affaires.

24. S^t^ Jo. Baptists day M^r^ M. deliuered Card. Arigon Rationes contra Archipres. & cetera. He said the reasons against the perpetuitie of superiours in England was optima ratio. The same day M^r^ M. deliuered the same to Card. Burg. who emong many other things [said] that they of Fa: Pars. parte had bene w^t^ him & tould him of the conference M^r^ M: and M^r^ Parker had. He asked if no way could be found to accord all emong o^r^ selves. He said Fa: Pars. spake verie well of M^r^ M. but not so of the rest.

[a] Chiesa Nuova, the church of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri.

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25. Tewisday the Card. had not audience.

The 26. Mr Mu. was wt Card. Burges. before he went to the Consistorie. the Card. tould him they had no intimation the day before. but he would speake wt the Pope's Mr de Camera that day.

The 27. Card. Burg. tould Mr M. that his Holiness had committed or cause touching the Archept & gouernement to the congregation of the Cardls of the Inquisition. wherof Burg. & Arigon were two, Penella, Ascola, Sfondrato, & Auila other 4.[a] He willed we should go & informe them 4, and he would send them our writings. Thus we were after 5 mounthes to beginne againe. How this came about we knowe not. by Parso[ns] or others of the Spanishe faction.

At Card. Burg. Mr M. mett wt Parsons & had a few wordes wt him.

The 28. the Embasidour tould vs what he said to his Ho: about the committing of our cause to the Card. of the Inquis: & what his Hol: answered. wch satisfied vs not a litle, His Ho: will was that Mr D. Cecil should go to the Card., & informe them as he had done him before.

The 30. Mr Cecils & Mr M. visited Card: Penella & Card. Ascula. Penella was verie inquisitiue from whence we came, who sent vs, if any of us had bene of the Rom. Col., how many priests were wt vs in England, said we should haue obeyed the Archept after we knewe him to be instituted by his Ho: tould vs of the Englishe bookes sett out, he said by some of our side, conteynyng heresies, asked if Fa: Parsons were aliue, avoed that Fa: Parsons knewe not of the Archepts making, this he protested: we answered to all, yett would not tell him how Card. Burg. had said to Mr M. & Mr Champ. that he would wittness that the Archept was maid wholy at Fa: Parsons instance. He willed vs to thinke vpon some course for peace. & promised to do for vs what he could. Card. Ascula

[a] Dominico Pinelli, Bishop of Fermo; Geronimo Bernier, Ord. Præd., Bishop of Ascoli, commonly called Cardinalis Asculanus; Paolo E. Sfondrati, nephew of Gregory XIV., and Francesco G. d'Avila, a Spaniard.

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said he vnderstood nothing of o^{r} matters, nor as yett had receiued our writings. Card. Burg. had sent them to Card. Penella, in whose handes they still rested. he would do for us what he could.

JULY.

The first we all visited Card. Sfondrato. he tould vs he had but euen then receyved the writings from Card. Ascula. promised vs all the fauoure he could.

We then visited Card. Auila. who desyred us to lett him vnderstand the Controuersies from the beginnyng. We promised him our bookes. he was frendly to vs. Tho. Fitz. & Archer we found w^{t} Auila.

M^{r} M. was w^{t} the Commissarie of the inquisition.

The 2. M^{r} M. & M^{r} Ch. were w^{t} Card. Ascula, who vrged them w^{t} the Englishe bookes conteynyng heresies. yett after conferred frendly. and promised what he could do.

The same day M^{r} Blu. & they were w^{t} Car: Penella. wher they found Fa: Parsons. He had sent Tho. Fitzherbert & Archer round about to the 4 Card^{les} to informe them. Penel. vrged againe the Englishe booke[s] & the familiaritie of o^{rs} w^{t} the Consell [a]; that we should have gone to the Archep^{t} in o^{r} grauamina. & if he would not heare vs, then to come humbly to his Ho: all w^{ch} we had done. he reproued M^{r} M. for sayng pro pace ecclesiæ nostræ, etc. He said he would make vs a dinner & inuite also Fa: Par: that we might agree. we thanked him, but refused to haue any dealing w^{t} Fa: Pars. Pinelli.

The 3. M^{r} M. was w^{t} the Embas: who offered to giue vs monye.

The 4. M^{r} Cec. M^{r} Bluet & M^{r} M. were w^{t} Card. Sfondrato. he obiected manye things, but specially the Englishe bookes, the familaritie w^{t} the magistrates, & o^{r} litle number. he condemned that Parsons or any should deale in matters of staite, & that we would not obey the Card. Caiet. letters. &c.

The 8. M^{r} M. was w^{t} Card. Penella where he found Fa: Pars:

[a] *i.e.* Privy Council.

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the Card. said to M^r M. that he greately mislyked that some of ours should haue familiaritie w^t the heretical magistrates in England. And that we sought for the King of France his protection in commyng to the sea Apostolike. M^r M. tould him the reasons of bothe the sending of Swire out of Spaine, & the ill vsage of M^r Bisshop &c.

The 10 M^r M. was w^t Car. Burges. deliuered him the Antithesis & the memorial for prouision.

The 11 he went to know answere of the memorial. the Card. tould him he had deliuered it, & that his Ho: would prouide for vs. & end the matters shortely.

The 12 M^r M. was w^t Penella. who required to have an other copy of the Antithesis. And said that vpon the 16 or 17 the Card^les should meete aboute our matters. And said we must haue patience if we had not all granted we desired.

The 14. M^r M. was w^t Card. Burg. to put him in mynd to solicite our matters the day following being Consistorie. [About this tyme M^r Pars. said to the Schollers he would not bid them speake ill of us the disobedient priests, but commandid them vnder great penance that none should speake wel of vs, specially o^r D. Bagshawe.][a]

The 17. M^r Cecil was w^t Card. Burg. aboute the same. And M^r Champ. w^t S^r Santorello about our memorial. wherof no word was had. So we were constrayned to put vp an other.

The 20. M^r Mu. received centum quinquaginta aureos of Card^l Burgesio given vs by his Hol:

The 21. we received a bill of exchange from Paris of one hundreth eighty crowenes to be received of S^r Justiniano bancher, w^t letters out of England that the Archep^t contradicted the Popes Declaration we had sent into England. etc.

I received my daughters letter.

The 23. we received euery one 40 Δ of our bill from Paris.

[a] The sentence within brackets is an after insertion.

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The 24. we deliuered M^r^ Leakes letter to the Embas. & an other copye to Card. Burg.[a]

The 25. the Embas. had audience & deliuered a copy to his Ho:

The last M^r^ M. was w^t^ Card. Burg. & Arrig. to desire them to put his Ho: in mynd of o^r^ businesses. They said they would this day.

M^r^ Parsons sent a letter to M^r^ Mushe. He commandid the Scholers not to speake to any of vs.

August.

The first o^r^ matters were handled before his Ho: w^t^ the Card^lrs^ of the Congregation, as Card. Burges. tould vs.

The 7. M^r^ M. went to Card. Arigone & Card. Burg.[a] desyring them to remember his Ho: of o^r^ matters.

The 8. he went againe to those Card. they said the matter was almost endid, & Card. Burg. said the next day he would giue me a copy [of] what was done.

The 9. day Card. Burg. sent his seruant to caul me to him verie earely, M^r^ D. Cecil & I went, he deliuered vs the determination of the whole Congre^on^ approued as he sayd by his Ho:

The same day M^r^ M. went to the commissarie who willed vs to accept of what liked vs, and for the rest to sew to his Ho: and the Card^les^ to see if we could obteyne more.

The same, we all went to Card: Burg. to lett him know the difficulties we found in all the poynts that liked vs not. he willed vs to deliuer vp to his Ho: our myndes. for he could do no more. He tould vs Fa: Pars. was also displeased w^t^ the order more then we, we found Pars there w^t^ Card. Burg.

The same, M^r^ D. Cecil & I went to lett the Embas. vnderstand of all.

The 11 I was w^t^ Card. Arigon & had long conference w^t^ him about the poyntes we misliked in the Articles. He said &c.

The 12 M^r^ Cecil and I was w^t^ the Embas. to giue him the

[a] Caiet. struck out.

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poyntes we desired to be addid or altered in that w^{ch} his Ho: & the Inquisition had done.

The 13 I was w^{t} Card. Arigon & Burges. about the explication of the last poynte of the Archep^{t} his proceding against the Appellants. Arigon said yt included all the appellants as well as vs that came to Rome. Burg. said it includid onely vs that came personally.

The 16. was w^{t} Arigon. to knowe what was done the day before, in the Congregation, bycause we had shewed o^{r} selves not to like of their order in manye things, and Parsons also had giuen vp manye writings to the Card^{lcs} aboute their order. not content therw^{t}. He referred me to Burg. Burg. willed me to bring o^{r} memorial to him of what we disliked, for he must send it about to all the Card. He asked if we would haue the Archep^{t} remoued. I tould him we had put vp our articles to his Ho: by the Fren. Embas. that same day. he bad bring him a copy therof.

The 19 I was w^{t} Card. Arigone, after w^{t} Penella who said we had asked bothe Iniust & dishonest things, & therfore they had not granted them. I answered we were Catholike priests & children of the Sea Apostolike, redy to obey whatsoeuer his Ho: should determine and command, againe priests w^{ch} for defence of the Sea Apostolike stood euery day in acie redy to shed o^{r} bloud. And therfore were not willing any way to contradict or oppose our selves to any thing his Ho: would have vs do. And lastly that we were Catholike priests whom it beseemed not & who would be lothe to propound to his Ho: & the Inquisition any thing that were iniust or dishonest, wherfore I besought him to lett vs knowe w^{ch} might be thes things. He said if I would returne 2 daies after, he would tell me, for as then he had not redd o^{r} last memorial or replye to the Inquisitions censu[re].

Then I went to Burg: who tould me that Parsons was earnest to ha[ue] all the laitie & old priests includid in the subordination, & to haue some parte of their sentence against the Archep^{t} mitigated.

This day we hard that the Economie of the Grekes Colledge was

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taken from the Jesuits by his Ho: commandm^{t}. for the students complayned of them.

This day I mett the two procurators & Tho: Fitzharb. at Arigones. they had audience after me.

The 20 M^{r} Cecil was w^{t} Card. Auila, & Burges. [who tould him Parsons to be more obstinate in the matter of Schisme than euer. & earnest he was that the sentence of the Inquisi^{n} should not be put in the Popes breefe. yt would disgrace the Archep^{t} ouer muche.] [a]

The 22. M^{r} Mu: was w^{t} Card. Arig. who tould him that o^{r} matters would be dispatched presently. vpon Penellaes Inhonesta, he asked if we had demaundid vt duceremus vxores. this had bene in priests inhonestum.

Item he was w^{t} Card. Burg. who tould him that his Ho. that day had talked w^{t} Arig. & him aboute o^{r} matters & would as he thought end yt in the next Congreg^{on}. And that for things past would do iustice, and establish things to come brachio forti.

The 22 D. Cecil was w^{t} the Lo: Embas: caried what he had collected out of the supplication [b] and greene cote [c] to be deliuered at his Ho.

The 23 the Lo: Embas: had audience, his Ho: tould him he would do justice & said lasciate fare a me. commendid the memorial we last exhibited to be of a good spirit. It was about the difficulties vpon the sentence of the Inquisition.

The 25 M^{r} Mu. was w^{t} Card. Penel. who tould not of any iniust or dishonest things we had demandid, but talked frendly of ordinarie matters.

This day I mett w^{t} M^{r} Parker in S^{t}. Ludovicus churche, & tould him what lies the[y] had sent into England.

The 27 he went to Card. Arig. & Burges. to lett them vnderstand what he had hard of Parsons that day. that he & his had put vp some thing to his Ho: that the Archep^{t} might not be reproued as

[a] Inserted.

[b] Father Southwell's *Supplication.*

[c] *Leicester's Commonwealth*, commonly called "Parsons' green coat," from the green-edged paper. But see note on p. 100 *infra.*

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he was by the sentence of the Inquisitours, that he might not be admonished to distribute the almesses as that sentence was. for smale almesses came to his hand (whervpon I lett them vnderstand that matter how the almesses came most to the Jesuits handes), that the Archep^{t} might not be forebidden to aske consell of the Jesuits in England &c.

Thes daies Parsons & his trudged about to the Card^{les}. the 28. the 2 procurators deliuered Card. Burg. a supplication before he went to the Congre^{on} of the Inquis^{on}.

The 28. I was w^{t} the Commissarie, who tould me that we were not concordes, for that M^{r} Bluet had tould him that he was well content w^{t} the Inquisitours sentence & expected but the resolution of certaine doubts in the Archep$^{t's}$ authoritie.

[Tho. Fitz. & the procur. laboured that Parsons might be agent in Rome for o^{r} churche. & Fa: Wally moderator in all controversies in England. that the Archep^{t} might aske his consel in gouerment.] [a]

September.

The 5. I was w^{t} Card. Arig. & w^{t} Car: Burg. who tould me that Fa: Pars: had put vp a suppli^{on}, that the Archep^{t} might restore the faculties w^{ch} he had taken away to the Appellants. I tould him the Appellants did still vse their facul^{es} & did not thinke he could take them away, they having committed no fault, but appealed & defendid them selves against the infamies of Schisme &c. w^{ch} the Card^{lcs} had alredy iudged to be lawful, & that the Archep^{t} had iniuried the Appel^{tes} in prohibiting thes things. Againe that yf this should be granted to the Archep^{t} it would iniurie the priests, & frustrate all confessiones maid vnto them in this tyme.

The 6. we gave Card. Burg. a memorial touching this poynt, as he was goyng to the Congreg^{on} w^{t} the rest aboute o^{r} affaires.

The 8. I was w^{t} Card: Burg. who tould me it was verie well

[a] Inserted.

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that we put vp this last memorial about faculties. he thought we should haue o^{r} desire in that poynte.

The 12. Card. Burg. tould me o^{r} matters were handled that day before his Ho: verie largely. & endid. that the instructions were giuen to Mon^{r} Vestrio to make a breeve, & that he would gladly haue tould me the particulars, but that his Ho: commandid secrecye tyll the breeve were out. He said it was iusta petitio that the Lor: Embas. in his audience the next day should aske a sight of the breefe before it went out, or of the cheefe heades.

The 13. I went to the Embas: and desyred him so to do. also to desire his Ho: that nothing of the formare declaration should be left out of the breeve. Also that if any were to be joyned w^{t} the Archep^{t} they might be named here by his Hol.

The 14. the Embas. tould me his Ho: would not lett him see the breefe vnless he would sweare to kepe it secrete to him selfe, w^{ch} he refused vpon that condition to see. againe all that in the first declaration should be in this breefe, & more addid therto, and said we should have no cause to complaine. Also that ours to be joyned w^{t} the Archip^{t} should be named by his Hol: here.

The 18. I was w^{t} Card. Arigone & Burg. to solicite. ther I mett w^{t} the two procuratours. emong other things they tould me of M^{r} Trolops taking & removing, of S^{r} Fran. Veres death. And besought me we might all be frendes & Joine againe &c.

All the rest daies I earnestly solicited the Card: Burg. & Vestrio for dispatche of the breefe. the 27. Vestrio tould me he had drawen the minuta & would send it to Card. Burg. even then.

The 18. I mett the 2 procuratours at Card: Burg. who were earnest w^{t} me that we should all be frendes. I tould them that neither they nor the greate calumniator Parsons shewed any syncere desire of peace or friendship by their actions, for still they laboured to iniury vs, & opposed them selues to euery thing they could learne we laboured for, how needful soeuer yt were to o^{r} churche. 54, *f.* 198.

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October.

The 2. I was w^t^ Car: Burg. ther I found Mon^r^ Vestrio. the Card. tould me that his Ho: had sent word by Vestrio that we 4 should come to the palace & haue audience the next day at 20.[a] 2 or 3 daies before this we hard that M^r^ Tho: Fitz. & the 2 procur: had bene w^t^ the Pope, & that he said he would haue vs all frendes. Wherupon we suspecte[d] this to be a plott laid by Parsons & them, that before his Ho: we mi[ght] be maid frendes, & aske eche other pardone.

The 3. we went to the Embas. at 18 to aske his aduice in . . . . [a]might happen in that audience. After we came to the palace at o^r^ houre appoynted. ther dynner was not endid. Expecting in the haul aboute haulfe an houre, in comethe Parsons w^t^ the 2 procuratours & one scholler. they saluted vs, & we them, they satt dowen on the other side ouer against vs. then we percei[ve]d the p[lot] to be laid by Parsons, & beganne to cast w^t^ our selues how to answ[ere] before his Ho: that we might neither offend him by refusing to ente[rtain] frendship w^t^ Parsons more then in Christian charitie we were bound, nor displease the Christian King & our owne staite by condescending to what his Ho: would by likelyhood move vs vnto. We being now as it were in their trapp. stood muche perplexed & thought we should carie o^r^ selues verie well and wisely that day, if we escaped some mischeefe. The doores being opened Parsons & his entred into the antecamera. after a litle we followed, & placed o^r^ selues as farr opposite to them as we could. After halfe an houre beganne divers Card^les^ to enter, (for that after noone was the examen ordinandorum ad Epis:) then came Card: Farnesius our protector. whervpon we perceived how strongely Parsons had laid his strategeme, [for Farnes. was not of that Congregation,][b] aboute halfe an houre after Parsons perceving the houre to be past & that the Pope & Cardinals were entred into the examen he rose & demandid of the M^r^ de Camera whether audience might be had that day or no. He

[a] Illegible. [b] Interlined.

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answered the tyme was past. So Parsons & his departed. all this while we stood praying their might be no audience that day. After Parsons & his were gone a litle, M^r^ Parker & M^r^ Arch. enter into the Chamber againe & came to me, and said Fa. Parsons haith vnderstood ther wilbe [no][a] audience this day. he & we departe. he sent vs to certifie you hereof, that you need not expect any longer. I answered we were not privy to M^r^ Parsons matters or audience. we were to expect aboute o^r^ owne affaires. So they parted. It was good sporte to see how glad we were that all fell out thus contrarie to Parsons expectation & according to o^r^ desires. that so we might haue more tyme to prepare o^r^ selues, & to preuent their mischeefe.

The 4. we tould the Embas. what had hapned. And desired him to hinder Parsons strategeme by letting his Ho: vnderstand the cause, that day of his audience. This day we were enformed that Parsons had bene 4. or 5. nightes together in longe Conference w^t^ Card. Farnese. The Lor: Embas: in his audience altered his Ho: his mynd aboute o^r^ reconciliation w^t^ Parsons. This day we hard that his Ho: had said to Tho: Fitz. and the procura^rs^ that he would make vs frends w^t^ them all before we should passe out at his Chamber-dore.

The 5. I was w^t^ Vestrio who tould me he had finished all & would deliuer the Breues to his Ho: that mornyng. After dinner I was w^t^ him againe: he maid much of me, and promised all kindness, said that Walpool was w^t^ him a litle before my commyng to expiscari what was in the breefe. We had bene tould that the reprehensions of the Archep^t^ at Parsons request were put in a priuat breefe to him alone & not conteyned in the common breeve. but Vestrio affirmed ther was but one breve.

I was w^t^ Card. Burg. to request him to solicite the ending of o^r^ matters. he said he was sorie that we & Parsons mett not before his Ho: & were maid frends. but I satisfied him. he said we had maneged o^r^ affaires prudently & patiently.

The 7. I was w^t^ Card. Burg. to desire him to remember o^r^ busi-

[a] Omitted in M.S.

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ness w^t his Ho: that [Con]sistorie. Againe at night I went to him. He tould me he had remembred vs, [and] that his Ho: would that we should haue one authenticaul breeve & Parsons an other. & sent me to Vestrio to solicite the expedition. Vestrio vsed me kindly & tooke me in his cotche w^t him to Burges: & there tould me we should haue a copy of the Breeve the next day after dinner. but we had not.

The 8. I was w^t the Embas: to lett him vnderstand of all. Peares had bene w^t him & willed him to beware that we abused him not.

The 9. I was w^t Vestrio for the breves. He was gone to Tusculum & his man said all was redie to be deliuered vs when Card. Aldobrand. should returne the minuta. w^ch he had not done.

The 10. M^r Cecils & I was w^t Aldobrandino for returnyng the minuta to Vestrio, he said he would do it that night not to faile.

We hard that Parsons & his bragged, that the Pope had kept vs heare so many mounthes, & in the end had granted vs nothing to the purpose. That poore men we durst not returne into England, for we should be litle welcome to the Q. and consel. seyng we could not procure them peace, as they expected we should. And we failing she must be fayne to seeke for it at their handes that could bring it to pass meanyng his & his Jesuits.

I was w^t Vestrio to see if Card. Aldobran. had sent the minuta. but he had not kept touche.

The 11. M^r Champ. & I went to Audience w^t the Embas: Card: Aldobran. tould him he had sent the minuta to Vestrio & willed him to send for the breve. M^r Champ. & I went presently that night to Vestrio who was returned from Tusculum. but the minuta
12. were not sent to him as Aldobran. h[ad] tould the Embas: The next mornyng being Saterday M^r Ce[cil] went to tell the Embas: & I went againe to Vestrio. who stil tould me the minuta was not sent from Aldobran. that himselfe would aske it of him that morning in the palace. & willed me to returne aft[er] dinner. I so

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did, and he tould me he had asked it, & Aldobrand. said h[e] had deliuered it to his secretarie Armenio. Vestrio sent to Armineo, who answered he could not deliuere it, till he had spoken w^t his Cardinal. After dinner I returned to Vestrio. who sent his man & a letter w^t me to Secretarie Armineo. he answered we must expect ij houres & that his Card: must see it before it could be sent. Vestrio wondered what misterium should be in it. The misterie was no other as I then tould Vestrio then that ther was some thing in the breeve w^ch displeased M^r Parsons. this must be reuersed by the Spanishe Embas: who had audience those two houres. after w^ch was done I doubted not but we should haue the minuta sent presently. And so it fell out. for that night after the Spanishe Embas. audience was endid I went to Vestrio who even then received the minuta & deliuered the breve one copy to me, the other to M^r Parsons man. This delay [was] maid as far as we could gather, that the Spanish Embas. might gett reversed the prohibition for dealing in Staite matters.

The 13 we caried the Breve to the Embas. This day M^r Par...[a] came to our loging, & desyred that we might be frendes w^t them & [M^r] Parsons. he tooke me to walke w^t him. I refused to haue any thing to do w^t M^r Parsons.

The 16 we were w^t his Ho: & had a verie frendly audience, he grante[d] all we desired, o^r beades were all blessed as graines, they & our crosses & medals had the Colledge indulgence, he granted th[at] my greate crucifix should haue the College indulgence, & moreo[uer] make a priuiledged altare wher soeuer it stood in England as long as it were vpon it. he granted me licence to communicate all my faculties to 10 priestes in England.

From thence M^r D. Cecil & I went to Card. Burg. to lett him vnderstand of o^r audience, & gave him a memorial for M^r Charnockes matter, an other for o^r viaticum, w^ch his Ho: tould vs he had prouided before we had audience. an other for notaries.

The 17 M^r Cecils returned to Card. Burg. for answere, his Ho:

[a] Parker.

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said we should not stay for o^r viaticum, he had commandid Hieronimo to deliuer vs 50 Δ a man. di auro in auro. for M^r Charnockes matter he would not grant it, but consider therof. & granted we should haue as many notaries as we pleased. The Embas. had put vp the friday before a supplication for me to haue a planet[a] chalice & crucifix. w^t indulgences. his Ho: granted them. but all this weeke they could not be gotten.

The 18. the Embas: renewed the same memorial, but then his Ho: answered his guarda robe had none but riche ones. yett he obteyned that the same indulgences might be applied to any that should be given vs, or that we should bye. Also that yf o^r holy things were taken from vs, or lost, we might apply the same indulgences to others.

The same day we were w^t Card. Aldobran.

The 19 all but I were w^t S^t George.

Endorsed. . . . Mushe his Diary of theire busynes at Rome.

54, f. 207.

2. *A Second Narrative.*

1601-2.

After manie sclanders, detractions, threates, disgraces, letters, declamacions & treatises against the priests Apellants devulged & printed by the Jesuits & theire adherents both w^thin & w^thout the Realme, charginge them w^th Schisme, rebellion, disobedience, affirminge also that they durst neuer ascend up to Rome to presente their Appeale before his ho: or the sacred inquisicion (to whome they pretended to appeale) and that their Appeale was no more but a delaye, evasion, and dilatorie playe to blind mens eyes to winne time and to avoyde the authoritie of their superior: yea that the very appeale ytself was but an infamous libell (although thirtie worthye priests haue subscribed to yt) by w^ch vnchristian, yea Jewish & Turkish means the Jesuits (men I trowe impeccable)

[a] Planeta, i.e. chasuble.

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had opened the mouthes of men & women boyes & girles (there misled flock) to rayle, detract, despise & sclander theire owne pastors: And that in more vile manner then they unnurtured children of Bethel did the prophet Elizeus. At length (God so disposinge) all these came to the knowledge of her ma^tie, & her ho^ble counsell, howe dangerous yt was: and w^th what indignitie the priests were vsed for theire truth & fidelitie. And beinge fully informed of these wronges disgraces & oppressions wherw^th the Jesuits by theire instrument the Archpreist had involved the secular preists. All w^ch appeared most plainely in theire bookes dedicated as well to the Popes ho: & the Inquisicion as otherwise. upon the humble peticions of these preists, the ho^ble counsell respectinge theire troubles & miserie graunted that foure or fyve of the imprisoned secular preists shold be sett at libertie for six weekes to make provision of money & other necessaries for theire iourney and then to have licence by waie of banishment to departe the Realme to followe theire appeale to Rome there to seeke iustice & reformation at his hands who through the false and wronge informacion of Parsons and his complices had giuen a cullor to 54, f. 207b thei[re] wronges although by him neuer intended. And hauinge received from the honorable counsell theire pasportes for themselues theire horses, seruantes and Trunks, not without greate difficultie about the fourthe of Nouember 1601 departed to Douer Water where they now stayed vntill they had gott newe pasports more larger then the first.[a] And beinge arriued at Callice w^thin the same moneth remembringe that the Archpreist presumed much of the fauor & furtherance of the Nunce Apostolick in the lowe cuntrey (a parsonage of highe wisdome, learninge, experience & integritie) before enie further attempt resolued to repaire to his

[a] According to W. C. in his *Replie* to Parsons' *Manifestation*: "They had but one onely passport, and that of Banishment, that is the full truth therein. Some of the company beeing stayed at Dover, contrary to their expectation, they were enforced to send back to London: and thereupon procured a note to the searchers and officers there, that they should passe freely, without search, with such things as they had to carry with them." *f.* 78.

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presence there to yeeld an accounte of their actions that so all obstacles or hindrances behind their backs might be taken awaye, ffor they vnderstood that the Jesuits by theire letters had marvelously sclandered some of them to the same Nuncio, affirminge that not onely they were fallen from the faithe but were become persecutors of Catholicks. And hauinge sent a learned preiste[a] vnto him for a safe conduct went thither & orderly related whatsoever was amisse in the church of England what sclanders, oppressions & vnnaturall wronges they had sustayned: not refusinge to make him priuye and, as yt were, Judge & Arbitrer of their controuersie. Wherevpon beinge fully instructed he wrote his letters to the Archpreist requiringe him either to appeare before him or send sufficient procurators in his place. And also to proceede no further against the preists *lite pendente* lest he shold giue occasion vnto them of newe Appeales. Another letter he wrote to the secular preists willinge them w^t^hout all feare to showe him their greeuaunces & wronges promisinge [to] doe them all iustice, requiringe them in the meane space to be sober & humble, as yt became preists, not offendinge the civill maiestrates as much as in them laye. The letter to the Archpriest beginneth thus Adm R^de^ D^ne^ Amice obseruantissime The letter to the priests beginneth thus R^di^ D^ni^ D Amici honoratissimi Whilst they thus remained at
54, f. 208. [*blank*] the Nunce of Paris sent a copie of the Popes Breue concerninge these controversies to this Nunce of fflanders. ffor fa: Parsons hearinge and also feelinge by theire bookes that they had appealed (as himself confessed) labored what he cold above to stop the Appeale and hinder theire cominge up. And first he wrote downe a forme of a Breve so clownish, so vnciuill and so tyrannicall as never was seene, wherein the catholicks of England were comaunded to shutt out of theire houses, shun, and avoyde the preists Apellants as Scissmatickes, Ethnicks and Publicans, men unworthye anie entertainement, wherevppon Breuiator Vestris shewinge this forme vnto his ho: he vtterly condemned yt as rustick

[a] Francis Barnaby. See *Replie unto a certain Libell*, by W. C., *fol.* 78.

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and vnciuill, and betweene him & Vestris (to vse Parsons owne phrase) iumbled up this Breue. When the preists had reade this Breue w^ch they neuer had heard of before, although the Archpriest knewe of yt & supprest yt of purpose because they at that time had certaine bookes to be printed against the priests as theire Apologie & such like, cleane contrary to the tenor of the Breue, such estimacion the Jesuits haue of the Popes Breve when yt pleaseth them. this Copi[e] being considered & pervsed the preists aunswereth the Nuncio that yt did not satisfye but rather was a cause of a greater breach, because therein there was no mencion made of the Jesuits, the chiefest sturrers of these garboyles. Manie other reasons more they yeelded as the Nunce in his letter to the Archpriest showeth in these words: ij, visa quæ penes nos erat prædicti Breuis copia, seu transumpto authentico, mox indica- *
uerunt illum neque præteritis controuersijs satisfactum neque futuris prospectum ac proinde insufficientem eiuscemodi dissensionibus, saltem cum pleno fructu, et expectato a sua S^te fine, terminandis. Vnde et suam sanctitatem prolixe et fideliter informandam censebant.

Thus taking theire leaue from the nuncio & hauinge theire pasports beginninge in these words, Octauius Dei et Ap̃lice sedis gratia, etc. they sett forth towards Paris, and consideringe what stronge parties they had against them at Rome, 54, f. 208b.
and beinge taught by the perrills & troubles of the two preistes M^r Bushop and M^r Charnock, ...[a] admonishm^ts giuen vnto them in the Lowe Cuntrey th[at] the protection of a mightie prince was most necessary [for] them, else they shold find in Rome iniustitiam causæ [et] iniustitiam parsonæ. for the first that there †

* At this point occurs a marginal note, added subsequently, it seems, by the same hand: "Here the Spanish Ambassador of the lowe cuntrey did expostulate w^th the nuncio for hauinge conference w^th the same preists, being but the spies of the Queene of England."

[a] MS. torn.

† Here there is another marginal note (same hand): "Here maye come in the Second Appeale of the preists of England."

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shold be no man apointed to heare theire cause, and thereby shold lose theire matter, and for the second might be clapt in prison by the potency of theire aduersaryes. Therefore cominge into Parris they labored by theire frends (the question belonginge to all the secular preists in the world) to haue the protection of the most Christian Kinge, w^ch w^th greate suite obteyned, and his pasporte not only for ffraunce but for other Kingdomes & Common wealthes they went w^th courage towards the cittie and there arriued after fyve weekes travell the first Thursdaie before Lent where the rumor was rife that Ireland was conquered by the Spanyards, and the English, Irish, and Spanishe labored for the Bushopricks of that cuntrey. These newes somewhat terrified them so that forth-w^th they sent theire Portmantua w^th theire bookes letters & instructions to the monasterie of S^t Paule two miles out of the cittie there to be in safetye that yf theire parsons were apprehended (as theire fellowes were before) theire writinges might be preserued. then w^th all speed they sent to the Embassador of ffraunce to demand whether he had authoritie from the Kinge to protect them as Subiects of ffraunce, who aunswered cheerefully & most honorably that he had commandment from his Kinge to receive them & to protect them, but yet w^th all he willed them to keepe themselues secrett for sixe dayes vntill he might goe to the Pope himself to signifye both theire comminge & theire qualities, w^ch thinge they did obserue. The next day of audience his excellencye made the Pope priuye that foure preists of England were come up vnder the protection of the most Christian Kinge to prosecute theire Appeale and to informe his ho: of matters of greate importance belonginge to the Church of England, requiringe that they might haue benigne & honorable audience, w^ch thinge the pope willingly granted.

54, *f.* 209.

But first he shewed the Embassador that he had heard marvellous hard reports of the said foure priests, that they were greate & familiar w^th the Queene of England and her counsell, and that they had procured from the Queene to come up to trouble the State of the Church. The Embassador aunswered

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that his kinge wold not haue protected anie such parsons and that his ho: shold find them to be sincere & plaine meaning men w^th^out guile or fraude. Well then, saith the Pope, they shall haue audience on Munday next for vpon fryday had the Embassador these speaches w^th^ the Pope. when Munday came the foure preists beinge directed by my Lo. Embassador & hauinge some of his gentlemen to conduct them they repayred to the Courte but, findinge his ho: then to give publick audience, one of his Chamberlaines aduised the priests to departe to their lodgings, for that yt was not likely that his ho: wold giue that day anie priuate audience w^ch^ they requ[ired]. herevppon they departed to theire lodgings but forthw^th^ the Pope arisinge from his publick audience retyred to his chamber where he was wont to giue priuate audience & demanded of his Chamberlaines whether the foure English preists were not in the Pallace, & caused them to be sought for, but beinge informed that they had bin there & were departed to theire lodgings because they were informed that his ho: was not like to giue priuate audience that day, as beinge the day of publick audience, herevppon he sent one of his Chamberlaines to theire lodgings to warne them to come to his presence the next day at nyneteene a clock.

These newes were ioyfull vnto them and against the houre apointed they made themselues ready and came to his presence beinge conducted by the Chamberlaines, and after they had saluted h[is ho:] one of them made a briefe oracion, first signifyinge the cause of theire comminge, the troubles, scandalls, & vaxacions the Church of England and the secular preists were brought unto by the sinister dealinges of the Jesuits, so that *in spiritu lenitatis et mansuetudinis* he wo[uld] prouide a remedy that preists might liue like pr[eists] as heretofore they haue done, and w^th^ all offered to his ho; the two lattine bockes wherein was contayned all theire grieuances w^ch^ they desired to be redressed, otherwise that the Church of England was like to perrishe. This oracion his ho; aunswered breifly, first that

54, f. 209b.

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he had hard maruelous ill reports of them that the Queene of England and her Counsell had suborned them to come vp and that they had pencions of the Queene, and w^th^ hall demanded earnestly whether anie of them had letters from the Queene to demand these thinges at his hands. To whome aunswere was made that neither the Queene or her Counsell had anie parte in these negotiacions, but only this: that perceiuinge the troubles, vexacions, & wronges that the preists sustayned, & knowinge not how to remedy the same in her self because they were thinges belonginge to the Sea Apostolike, hauinge an humble peticion made vnto her, her licence for some of the imprisoned preists to be sett at libertie to goe to Rome to prosecute this Appeale w^thout w^ch licence yt was impossible for them beinge prisoners to performe this iorney. to the w^ch peticion after longe & mature deliberacion she granted that foure of them shold haue libertie to prouide for themselues & so vndertake the iorney. As for money or stipend they had none, but only such as the Catholicks doe giue them to defray theire charges, w^ch was shorte enough, and they counted yt very greate clemency that her mat^ie^ graunted them so much. As for the other pointes w^ch his ho: did insinuate concerninge matters of faithe as though therin they had bin defective, they aunswered resolutely that yf they had bin such they had no need to come w^th so greate trauell & so greate perill to the Sea Apostolike to seeke for iustice, for that the Queene of England had Bushopricks
54, *f.* 210. and better benifices enough wherew^th to inrich them yf they had bin of her religion, and w^thall desyred of his ho: that theire accusers might be compelled eyther before his ho: or judges by him deputed to propose these theire accusacions in theire owne parsons and not *per interpositas personas*, as the manner of ffa: Parsons was, and that they were ready to cleare themselues. Well then, sayes the Pope, w^th a cheerefull countenance, I am glad to heare you saye so, you shall haue iustice. Card. Burgesius and Card. Aragonio doe we appointe to

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heare both them and you and to make relacion thereof vnto vs, and see that you goe vnto no other Cardinalls w^th^ anie complaintes but to them, and so w^th^ good & gracious words he dismissed vs, beinge himself at that present maruelously vexed w^th^ the goute so that his seruants were faine to cary him out of his chayre to his bed where he remayned foureteene dayes. In this audience he remayned an houre and a half notw^th^standinge his paine. the preists departed and repayred to the two Cards designed to heare the matter, and opened vnto them his ho: pleasure & desyred that they wold call for ffa: Parsons to sett down his accusacions against them wherevnto they were ready to aunswere. But ffa: Parsons began to make delayes to seeke shifts [to] prolonge time, but nothinge more troubled him & his complices then to heare that the preists had so speedie & so benign audience, for therein he employed all his cunninge & the diligence of his freinds to hinder the preists from anie accesse to his ho: This hapned the first weeke in cleane Lent.[a] ffa: Parsons made all the delayes that he cold notw^th^standinge he was comanded by his ho: and by the two Cards to bringe in what he had against the preists crauinge still more time *ad libellandum* and thus he drave of, notw^th^standinge he was three times admonished & comanded, vntill yt was Palme Sunday, hopinge thereby to driue the preists out of money and so to fall from theire suite. Lastly in the ho[lie] weeke he brought in his accusacion to the w^ch^ the pr[eists] aunswered the next day, and so cleered themselues.

here maye the commontre be inserted.

And in the meane space they deliuered vnto the [Cardinals] theire reasons w^ch^ moved them to defer the admitting . . . of the Archpreist vntill the comminge of the Breve Ap[ostolike], and consequently proved that thereby they had not incurred anie blemishe touchinge their obedience to the Sea Ap[ostolike] much lesse the crime of scisme rebellion & disobedience, w^ch^ reasons beinge considered by the Card^s^ and related vnto his ho: forthw^th^ he pronounced

54, f. 210b.

[a] '*Hebdomada casta*, ineuntis Quadragesimæ hebd. dicebatur.' Ducange.

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sentence & willed the same to be declared vnto the preists Apellants by the Cardinalls, w^ch sentence was that the preists of England were neither scismaticks nor disobedient nor rebellious against the Sea Apostolike in that they refused to receiue M^r Blackwell for theire superior vpon the Card. Caietans letters, and that they had not lost theire faculties but that the confessions made vnto them all that while were vallid & good, and w^thall his ho: commaunded the preists to write downe that sentence and send yt in theire common letter vnto England to informe the preists and Catholicks there of the truth, and that he wold haue this sentence to be the explication of his last Bull sent the yeare before. ffa: Parsons & his complices stormed much against this sentence because thereby appeared the falshood of ffa: Listers booke, ffa: Jones his Oracle, and ffa: Garnets and M^r Blackwells their approbacion of the same, and by this men maye see that all is not the gospell that proceedeth from the Jesuits.

Here the sentence may be set down.

Next vnto this the preists did sett downe theire reasons against M^r Blackwell the Archpreist his insufficiency w^ch consisted in 8 points All w^ch they proued out of his owne writinges & decrees. Seaven were admitted by the Cards as sufficiently proued although his procurators there and the Jesuits went about to proue that the letters there exhibited out of the w^ch they drewe theire proposicions were not his letters or decrees, wherevppon Card. Burghesius asked them whether they knew his hand. Some of them aunswered yea, and some of them aunswered doubtfully. Well, saith the Card., I will put you out of doubt that this [is] his hand, and so sett a letter of M^r Blackwells owne hand conferringe the hands together, they cold not denye but that was his writinge. herevppon followed another consult betweene the Card. and his ho: whether M^r Blackwell was to be deposed as the preists required, hauing sett downe 8 causes whereof the last was matter sufficient to displace him. ffirst yt was sett downe against him that he had done vniustly in chargінge the preists w^th scisme & rebellion where none was, and so in goinge

54, f. 211.

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about to tak awaye theire faculties. secondly that he had exceeded his authoritie in takinge vpon him to censure the laye Catholicks by interdiction, hauinge no authoritie ouer them. also for makinge newe decrees & extendinge his authoritie ouer the old preists, whereas his comission was only ouer *alumnos seminariorum*, but that he was to be pardoned in these his accesses because of his ignorance in the cannon lawe, and because he followed therein the counsels of others, to witt the Jesuits.

Yet notw^thstandinge the Popes pleasure was that he shold remayne and continewe his iurisdicion ouer the preists. this sentence beinge delivered to both parties yt pleased neyther, the preists affirminge that yt was not expedient that he shold haue iurisdiction ouer them w^th whome they had so greate controuersies before, for that he wold euer seeke occasion to be reuenged. The Jesuits on the other side exclayminge that the Archpreist was made a dishcloute, his defects & imperfections beinge made manifest to the world. they were contented that his ho: shold knowe his imperfections, indiscretion, and vniustice, but that he shold not sett yt downe to the vewe of the world, for that was but to make him ridiculous vnto them ouer whome he was to haue iurisdiction, wherevppon the matter proceeded further for certaine monethes, and in very deed the faction of the Jesuits so preuailed that in the Bull these defects of his were rather insinuated then sett plainely downe, and here yt was a world to see how the busie head of ffa: Parsons bestirred him in spreadinge false rumo^rs concerninge the Queene of England persecutinge preists & Catholicks contrary to the declaracion of the foure preists, as y^t appeareth in his letters to his complices in England concerninge certaine honorable speaches w^ch she vttered of the Pope, w^ch also he caused to be deliuered vnto the nouellantes of Rome to be spreaded amongst them . . . trick very usuall w^th him, for take awaye from him lying [and] libelling you spoyle him of his greatest dowrye, to speak nothinge howe of his diuerse libells & accusacions w^ch he deliuered vnto diuerse Cardinalls 54, f. 211b.

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against the preists w^ch [came] not to light for that the Cards neuer beleeued y^t, nor of [the] diuerse meanes he made to diuerse Cards to perswade the pr[eists] to come to the Colledge to feaste w^th him, hopinge that yf he cold haue obteyned so much as to haue them to bankett w^th him he might find some occasion to intangle them in words or manners.

But the maine drifte & scope of his perfidious braine was yet vnseene, w^ch is this: he labored w^th the Cards, and specially with the Spanish Ambassador that they shold move the Pope that y^t was not hono^ble, nor Christianlike that the preists shold be suffered to departe from Rome in anie displeasure or dislike w^th Parsons or the Jesuits, and therefore that his ho: shold doe maruelous well yf he wold command the preists to come to his presence, and ffa: Parsons w^th the Jesuits on the other side, and there commaund the preists to imbrace ffa. Parsons & reconcile themselues vnto him and to the rest of the Jesuits, & so make a full peace whereof his ho: himself shold be witnes. This drifte tooke such effect that the preists were sent for to the Popes presence, and the cause secretly by the Lo: Embassador insinuated vnto them, who required them to consult amonge themselues & to tell him what aunswere they wold make, for that the matter was of greate importance, for on the one side yf they refused vpon the Popes commaundmt to imbrace ffa: Parsons they shold fall into his hand & so incurre his displeasure, yf they obeyed the Popes will and reconciled themselues to ffa: Parsons then did they incurre the displeasure of the most Christian Kinge of ffrance in whose proteccion they were, and of the Queene of England whose subiects they were, for that they had charged Parsons there to be deuiser & plotter of all the treasons, warres, invasions, garboyles, & troubles that had hapned these last twenty yeares, as yt appeared in his bookes how he had made sale of the Kingdome of England & of the Kingdome of ffrance vnto the infanta and therefore that they cold not make peace w^th him but thereby they shold incurre the
54, f. 212. displeasures of these twoe greate princes whose fauoure they did

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not meane to loose. wth this constant resolucion they went to the Pallace Monte Cauallo against the houre prefixed, hauing for their ease my Lo: Embassadors coach and some of his gentlemen to conduct them. not longe after cometh Parsons wth his Cohorte and entringe into the Chamber where they were saluted them after the best manner, but they neuer moved bonnet to him nor made anie accounte of his salutacions, w^{ch} greeued him not a litle perceiuinge by theire behauioure that he was like to haue but light entertainement at theire hands, and that his principall designem^{t} fayled him, for yf they had obeyed the Pope & imbraced Parsons makinge peace wth him, then wold he haue written straight waies to England & to ffraunce that the foure negotiators had reconciled themselues to him & most humbly on theire knees before the Popes presence asked him forgiueness, for so Baldwin the Jesuit vsed doctor Gifford in the Lowe Cuntrey, and so he wold haue involved them in his owne treasons, but God so disposinge the Pope fell to examine other matters w^{ch} occupied him vntill 8 of the clock at night, and so departed to theire lodgings. The next day the Lo. Embassador himself went to the Pope beinge the day of his audience & amonge other thinges demaunded what his pleasure was concerninge the foure preists that were there the night before, for that they were fully resolved neuer to haue peace wth Parsons so longe as he had warres wth the twoe kingdomes. The pope aunswered that his meaninge was [not] to commaund them to haue peace wth him but only to exhort them, leauinge yt to theire owne election, and thus Parsons fell from his principall weapon, wherein he trusted, and here yt maye be noted wth what gibes, & merry taunts he maketh mencion of the Queene of England for that two or three were put to death duringe the abode of the preists at Rome, not rememberinge in the meane space that he and Archer his fellowe Jesuit [a] [were authors of all these garboyles] [a] whom he made nunce Apostolike in Ireland [b] to prosecute the warres there against the Queene and so

[a] Inserted above the line.

[b] James Archer of Kilkenny was a very bellicose Jesuit indeed. He took an

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by that meanes alienated her Ma^tie^s mind from hauinge anie peace, especially findinge so manie w^th John De Agula, and other Spaniards what helpes from other princes were promised by the perswasion of the Jesuits, but he, good man, thinks that he so shadoweth himself under his square capp that no man spyeth his stratagems against kinges and kingdomes and his abusinge the

54, f. 212b. popes . . . vnto Tyrone and the rest of his Company in Ireland w[^ch^] letters being deliuered by John D' Agula vnto the Lo. deputy of [I]reland caused her Ma^tie^ to looke more narrow[lie] about her, so that of all that followed against Catholicks [we] may thank ffa: Parsons and his fellowes for giuinge the occasion to alter her ma^tie^s inclinacion.[a]

3. *A Third Narrative or Fragment.*

54, f. 153.

When they came to Calice,[b] it was thought good that some of them shold deale w^th the Nuntio. But they first sent for a safe

active part in support of Tyrone's rebellion, and negotiated the sending of supplies from Spain. A description of the man and of his military exploits, with some of his letters, will be found in the *Cal. of State Papers* (Ireland, 1598–9; Carew Papers, 1601–3), and *Pacata Hibernia* (ed. O'Grady), ii. pp. 119, 186, 213, &c. He narrowly escaped capture in the skirmish of Sandy Bay, where his servant, afterwards hanged, was caught with the Jesuit's sword and breviary. He sailed from Ireland to Spain, July, 1601. Though he was commonly termed "the pope's legate," it does not appear that he had any direct diplomatic commission from Rome. The papal nuncio was Mansoni, an Italian, who reported that Archer's presence was a greater comfort to the Irish than a large force of troops. He was withal a zealous and successful missionary, and was afterwards the first rector of the Irish college at Salamanca, which he helped to found. In connection, or in contrast, with the views of the Appellants on this subject the judgment of the Jesuit theologians of the Salamanca University (printed in *Pacata Hibernia*, ii. pp. 142–6) is important, viz. that not only was the insurrection in Ireland lawful, but that it would be a mortal sin for any Catholic there to take sides with the Queen. The judgment was dated and signed on March 7, 1602.

[a] There were four priests executed in England during the stay of the Appellants at Rome, besides two laymen, one of whom was hanged for assisting or harbouring a priest, and the other for selling Catholic books. But these executions, which were in no way exceptional, can hardly be attributed to the cause suggested in the text.

[b] November 1601. The handwriting here closely resembles that of Dr. Gifford.

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conduct, w^ch was graunted; and therevpon all fower went to Newporte where the Nuncio lay. There they remayned six or seven dayes. The cause of theyr going was to make him theyr frende, least he shold crosse them in theyr buisines at Rome. Being there they procured him to write to the Archpriest & the rest of the priests Appellants: the copyes of w^ch Letters were before sent over.

The Nuncio amongst many other speeches signified, that the Archduke and the Infanta were but larvati principes: and that the King of Spaine did wholy direct them. Likewise he told them, that by reason of the Spanish faction in Rome, if they were not well backt; they shold be sure to haue both iniustitiam causæ and iniustitiam personæ: w^ch he thus expounded: viz. that they shold be insured to go vp and downe, and shold not be able to procure any Audyence: and it was very likely, that theyr persons shold be clapt vp in prison. ffrom thence they went to Paris: where they remayned 9 dayes. There by M^r Hills meanes they had accesse to Mons^r Villederoy the Kings Secretary: who vpon due examination of theyr whole cause, procured them the Kings favo^r, and promised them, that they shold finde the Kings protection at Rome w^th his prieger[a] there. He also gave them a generall safe conduct towards Rome vnder his hand and seale.

They were traueling from Paris to Rome five weekes and arrived there upon madd thursday, otherwise called Carnivall thursday: w^ch is the thursday imediately before Shrove sonday. At theyr comming thither they sent theyr portmantuas to S^t Paules monastery to two English monckes, there to be safely kept for them for feare of rifeling. They knew the said Englishmen to be enemyes to the Jesuits and therefore they did trust them w^th theyr writinge: w^ch trust they faithfully performed.

The same day also of theyr comming to Rome they sent to the ffrench Ambassado^r to see whether he had receyved any authority from the king to protect them: who sent them word, that he had, 54, f. 153b.

[a] Priega, preghiera.

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and that he wold protect them: but willed them to keep w^th^in doores for six dayes, vntill he had been w^th^ the Pope, to acquaint him w^th^ theyr arrivall, and that he had charge from the king to protect them, as his subiects. w^ch^ direction they carefully obeyed, and in the meane time did sende for Jewes, and provyded for themselves fitt apparell agreable to theyr callings, and as the manner of priests is in Rome.

Vpon Ash wednesday M^r^ Bluet went to the new church congregationis oratorii:[a] where he became acquainted w^th^ Thomas Bozius the author of the booke de signis ecclesiæ.[a] And amongst some other things did challenge him, for slandering the Q. Ma^tie^ in so grosse a manner, as he did discreditt both himselfe therein and his whole writings: the particulars being most false, as it was apparant to all England and the kingdoms adioyning. He also discoursed w^th^ him of the excellency of her ma^ts^ person, and of the rarenes of her guifts and the knowledge of tongues, wherevpon M^r^ Bozius admiring he sayd that the Jesuits had giuen him such informations as he had published in his said writings, and promised to reprint them againe, and to putt out these slanderous speeches, and to make her ma^tie^ satisfaction. The sayd Bozius is a good devout man, but of no deep reache.

By reason of theyr going abroad the said wednesday, they were descryed in that church by some of Parsons instruments. Wherevpon he bestyrred himselfe from Cardinall to Cardinall w^th^ whom he had so wrought before theyr comming thither as if they had not been protected by the king of ffraunce they had been sent to the gallyes and never heard.

Vpon the friday the ffrench Ambassado^r^ having audyence acquainted the Pope w^th^ theyr being in Rome, and that he had charge to protect them. The pope aunswered that they were hereticks, and sent thither by the Q. of England vpon her charges to doe some mischiefe there. The Ambassado^r^ replyed that if they
54, f. 154. had been such persons, the king his master wold not have

[a] In MS. *oratoriæ* and *ecclessiæ*.

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protected them: and therfore prayed that they might have audyence, w^ch the pope graunted. And accordingly vpon the monday after they were heard. At what time the pope assigned Card: Burghesius and Card: Arragonius to take notice of their whole cause, and to make vnto him a relation thereof: affirming vnto them, that Parsons had made many accusations against them as that they were hereticks: had made hereticall bookes, and were sent thither vpon the Q. of Englands charges for the destruction of Religion. The priests made theyr answeres to every particular as became them, and desyred the pope that Parsons might apeare in his owne person and lay downe the accusations in writing subscribed w^th his owne hand, and not to deale by interpositas personas. The pope aunswered, that he shold p^rferre them in his owne person, but wold haue no subscribing or other parte.

Accordingly they attended on Card. Burghesius and Card. Arragonius, who commaunded Parsons to exhibitt his complaints against them in writing. But he so dallyed owt the time, as it was allmost Easter before they could gett the accusations from him: w^ch being delivered vnto the Appellants, they aunswered them in three dayes. And then acquainting the sayd Cardinalls w^th the whole causes of theyr Appeale and proving them by evydent reasons, the sayd Cardinalls informed the pope. And therevpon in Easter week the pope gave sentence on the Appellants behalfe, as heretofore they ratifyed here in England.

Having thus farre proceeded w^th this good success: they then desyred license of the Cardinalls, that Parsons and his fellowes might answer to such accusations as the Appellants had to charge them and the Archpriest w^th. the conclusion of w^ch was that the Archpriest might be deposed. Theyr petition was graunted. Wherevpon being heard and the pope informed, the Cardinalls and the pope concluded vpon certaine points abowt midsom^r: the w^ch points we sent into England w^th o^r common letter.

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These things being thus agreed vpon, pleased ne[y]ther y^e^ Appell^ts^ nor the Jesuits. So as the Jesuits labored on the one syde to have those things altered, that they disliked, and the Appellants vrged the Archpriests deprivation, as being censured
54, f. 154b. before to be a man vnfitt for his place. But the Jesuits by the meanes of the Spanish faction pre[vai]led, that the sentence against the Archpriest and themse[lves] was mitigated; as apeareth by the Breve bearing d[ate] the of Octob^r^ . The 28 of Octob^r^ they left . . . . . [a] and were driven by reason of the Spanish . . . . to make a long iourney by ffraunce: and came to Paris the furst sonday in Advent stylo novo.

[a] The corner of the last page is torn off.

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II.

BREVIS RELATIO.

1. *Breuis veraque admodum relatio eorum quæ dicta, facta, scriptaque sunt in causa Sacerdotum appellantium à die* 14. *februarij anno* 1602 *quo Romam appulerunt usque ad diem octobris quando ab vrbe discesserunt ab uno ex ipsis sacerdotibus fideliter recollecta.* 538. 54, fol. 97.

Ad Almam Vrbem accesserunt de Catholicorum negotijs tractaturi quatuor Sacerdotes Angli, Joannes nimirum Cecilius S. Th. D., D. Tho. Bluettus, D. Joannes Mushens, D. Antonius Champneus, 14 februarij anno 1602. Excellentissimum Dñum de Bethune Christianissimi Regis in Urbe oratorem de aduentu suo certiorem faciunt, qui per internuncios bono illos iubet esse animo, et domi se continere donec illi opportunum videretur.

Die 21. eiusdem mensis sacerdotes istos ad se uocat orator Regius, eosque perquam humanitèr et gratiosè excepit. D. Cecilius sociorum nomine Gallicè exposuit breuitèr aduentus sui causam, et qua spe freti, et quibus promissis à Christianissimo illis factis fulti ad vrbem accesserunt in causa iustissima contra potentissimos et astutissimos aduersarios. Quibus et breuiter et benigne respondit legatus, Regem Christianissimum illos in protectionem suscepisse sibique id in mandatis dedisse, ut Innocentiam et Justitiam eorum suo nomine strenuè defenderet, ea tantum lege, et conditione, vt nihil in Reginam Angliæ eiusque statum uel uerbo, uel scripto, uel clam uel palam aggrederentur. Precepit itaque ut nihil illo inconsulto uerbo aut scripto apud Sanctissimum aut Cardinales aliquos tractarent iussitque in hunc finem scriptorum omnium exemplaria apud se deponi. Postridie itum est ad Ill^mum Cardinalem Dossake apud quem eadem pene loquuti eandem de

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Regis Christ^mi in illos affectione et protectione securitatem recipiunt, abeunt leti, et ad futuram pugnam se accingunt: visitant vero eorum iussu Ill^mum Farnesium Protectorem, et Burghesium Viceprotectorem, quorum primus difficillimum præbuit aditum, consolationem autem minimam, quamprimum enim eos ad Burghesium remittit, à quo benignissimè accepti spem conceperunt non exiguam res sibi successuras ex sententia.

Die 23. eiusdem mensis, feria nimirum sexta, quæ singulis septimanis oratori Christianissimi apud Sanctissimum acturo destinatur, egit cum sua sanctitate legatus de aduentu sacerdotum, de regis protectione, et intentione, et ut diem statueret quando istos ad se admitteret sacerdotes.

54, f. 98. Exponit preterea magnam iam esse fenestram apertam iuvandis Cath. quibus Christianissimum eousque fauere demonstrat, quousque se Reginæ suæ fidos, et subditos obedientes præbuerint, nullo commodorum aut pretensionum suarum intuitu, sed solo Justitiæ et Innocentiæ zelo, et amore; rogatque Pontificem, ut [in] causa ista sacerdotum, quos Regina cum socijs nullo modo in se male affectos esse intelligit aut de perturbando regno sollicitos, patrem se ostendat, iustitiæque et innocentiæ aurem prebeat, ne illorum videatur patronus et consiliorum particeps qui et vita et regno eam sæpissimè exturbare moliti sunt. In summa esse expectatione totum penè orbem, quid in hac causa fiat; quod si homines istos innocuos a sanctitate sua cum honore, et iusta postulatorum satisfactione dimissos uiderint, valde est uerisimile, et Reginam mitius et moderatius in posterum cum Catholicis acturam, et Regem suum quoad cum Reginæ salute et securitate fieri potuit pro Catholicis intercessurum. Hæc verbatim legatus a Pontifice rediens sacerdotibus ad se uocatis retulit, quorum unus Cecilius nimirum omnia quasi uerbatim in commentariolos redegit. Pontifex uero respondit se multa de sacerdotibus audiuisse mala, uerum promittit se æquitati locum daturum, et audientiæ diem assignat quartam martij.

Interim Personius et sui palam per vrbem uolitant ad omnes

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penè Cardinales, tam uiua uoce, quam calamo singulos istos sacer- 54, f. 98b.
dotes perstringunt, et mille calumniis onerant. Parasitos quinque suos Hadocum, Thos. Fitzharbertum, Hescettum, Baynes, et Swetum[a] cum libellis istis famosis ad Cardinales mittit; ipse legatum Galliæ et Cardinalem d'Osacke ut illos a sacerdotum tutela diuerteret, sed frustra; quæ à dictis parasitis et Personio in sacerdotes dicta et scripta sunt hic omittuntur, quia in sequentibus paginis ad integrum referuntur.[1] Eodem uero et ore et tempore quo in sacerdotes ista euomuerunt, eos miris modis ad colloquia, ad congressus, ad Collegium, ad conferencias inuitant; de quo rogatus et consultus legatus interdixit omnem uel minimam cum illis familiaritatem, qui in Reginæ Angliæ caput et Regnum conspirassent; quo nullum unquam sacerdotibus dari potuit aut sanctius, aut salutarius consilium, prout rerum euentus docuit.

[1] *infra*, pp. 103–107.

Tandem uenit optatus dies quo sacerdotes ad Sanct^mi pedes admittuntur ex quibus unus, videlicet Musheus, latinè cepit exponere, undè et à quibus et qua de causa ad vrbem fuerint missi ex Anglia, videlicet à Cath. et fratribus suis, ut Sanctitatem suam de innocentia sua in obiecto illo schismatis, inobedientiæ, et rebellionis crimine informarent, controuersiam illam determinari et declarari peterent, ut statum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ exponerent, et quæ ad pacem stabiliendam essent necessaria explicarent, ut a Sanct^mo peterent, ut aliquam pro Catholicorum leuandis miserijs iniret 54, f. 99.
rationem, cum illa quæ hactenus per arma tentata est, contra Catholicorum pene omnium mentem, tàm malè successit ut accessores, et Architectas turbarum istarum, qui nobis semper bellorum motibus et inuasionibus iratos et irritatos in Catholicos faciunt magistratus, castigaret, et reprimeret, ut de confessionibus factis appellantibus declararet.

Ad quæ Pontifex (cuius animum iam aduersariorum clamores et calumniæ præoccupauerant) uultu non admodum sereno et benigno

[a] "Thomas Hesket, Haddock, Baines, Thomas Fitzherbert, and one Sweet, are his [Parsons'] mercenarii to deal against us and spread calumnies." Mush to Ed. Bennet, Mar. 31, 1602. Tierney, iii. p. clvii.

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respondit: multa nobis objiciuntur et ad nos in dies afferuntur, quod à Regina missi regijs sumptibus huc acceditis: quod si estis hæretici quid opus est confessione aut absolutione? quod ad obiecta crimina attinet nescio in quo obedistis, quod de libertate attinet conscientiæ fortassis persecutio vobis est magis necessaria, non enim mihi placet talis cum hereticis familiaritas, uultis enim esse inter spinas et non pungi. Rogauit denique si haberent mandata a Regina aut si haberent aliquod memoriale.

Responsum est a D'no Cecilio, primo se nec à Regina esse missos nec ab ea pecunias nec mandatum accepisse, cupere uero ut eius in Catholicos animus leniretur, idque Aristidis, Basilij, Iustini, et Tertulliani, et Cardinalis Alani exemplo motos cupere, qui et persecutionem et persequutionis interualla Ecclesiæ necessaria
54, f. 99b. futura iudicarent. De obedientia uero data aut negata huic sedi lis et controuersia est, ad quam dirimendam ad sedem istam aduolauimus, quod hæretici aut schismatici nunquam fecissent, aut homines male in fidem istam affecti; memoriale autem non attulimus cum nihil aliud petimus quam dari nobis Iudices, qui audiant, et referant Sanctitati Vestræ quæ nobis referenda dederunt commilitones nostri, et Catholici in Anglia.

Summus Pontifex ad Ill^mos Burghesium et Arigonium Sacerdotes remisit, imperans ne quenquam preterea aut uisitarent aut informarent.

Redeunt è Palatio Sacerdotes mæsti, et ad oratorem Galliæ (quem solum in Vrbe, et Patronum et Consiliarium, et in afflictis rebus et dubijs asylum habuerunt; alius enim nemo palàm se fauere sacerdotibus istis profitebatur ob metum Hispanorum et Jesuitarum) recta inquam ad eum properant, vultu demisso et animo quasi fracto narrant, quam durum experti sunt patrem, quos deinde illis commissarios assignauerat. Ipse gratiosè admodum, et animosè (ut est ad gratiam natus) recreat perculsos et perturbatos sacerdotes, polliceturque se Pontificem ad meliorem mentem propediem reducturum. Interim de deputatis cogitat, et suos consulit; an uiderentur sacerdotibus futuri si non propitij

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saltem æquabiles, et *ἀδιάφοροι*; invenit in tota curia Romana uix inveniri duo Prælatos tam æqui bonique studiosos, qua spe refocillati sacerdotes discedunt.

Post biduum, feria nimirum sexta, egit orator cum Sanct^mo de rebus sacerdotum, et eorum nomine memoriale exhibuit, ubi petierunt ut liceret illis de obiectis criminibus respondere, ita tamen ut adversarii in scriptis appositis chirographis suis obiecta crimina exhiberent; egit preterea Pontifici gratias, quod tamdiu sacerdotes, et tam patienter audiuerit, quod tam suaves, pios et benignos deputatos assignauerit; cepit deinde liberrimè et rogare et monere Pontificem, ut uellet serio de rebus Angliæ, et cogitare et informari. Hactenus enim, ut successus rerum docet erratum esse turpiter cum de Anglia ad fidem reducenda armis et inuasionibus sit actum; cum enim Regina Angliæ suis viribus non sufficeret ad hostium uim repellendam tamen regem suum non posse Principem illam, et Regnum illud in prædam relinquere tam potenti inimico; suasit itaque Pontifici ut non negligat occasionem tantam Catholicis iuvandis oblatam, Reginam enim Angliæ mitius et moderatius de Catholicis sentire, multa autem esse quæ loquuntur posse illam flecti, et ad benignitatem et suauitatem maiorem reduci: primum quod de Sanctitate Vestra perhonorificè idque sæpius loquuta est; quod sacerdotes istos, alios uero morti destinatos, alios in carceribus uinctos intellecta ex libris et controversijs istis eorum innocentia, ex vinculis liberauerit, quod sontes ab insontibus discernere didicerit, quod natura sua sit ad suauitatem et clementiam propensa; verum, multa esse narrat quæ infensam illam reddant, et Catholicis inimicam: primo tot molimina à Personio et suis in vitam, statum, regnumque eius suscepta, tot libri in eam eiusque Consiliarios conscripti, tot libelli famosi dispersi, toties in eam per diuersos Pontifices fulminatæ excommunicationes, tot excitatæ rebelliones, tentatæ inuasiones, missi sicarij et venefici, quibus amotis offensionum fontibus non est dubitandum reginam religionis ergo in Catholicos nullo modo sæuituram. Si itaque

54, f. 100.

54, f. 100b.

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Catholicorum in Anglia saluti prospectum esse cupit Sanctitas v'ra, excommunicationes istæ sunt antiquandæ; Catholicis omnibus sub grauissimis censuris est interminandum, ne se ullo modo, uel directè, uel indirectè, uel per se uel per alios in rebus politicis aut regni statum spectantibus exerceant, sed omnem in temporalibus Reginæ suæ fidelitatem exhibeant; castigandi sunt et separandi à regimine collegiorum et præfectura aliqua in Anglia illi omnes qui cum Personio statum non solum Regni et Reginæ sed etiam Catholicorum tàm miserè perturbarunt; denique aut amouendus, aut ualde limitandus est Archipresbiter iste qui ad partes Hispanicas promouendas falsis informationibus uideretur institutus; ubi vero tutum non uideatur esse ut ista omnia primo et uno impetu faciat Sanctitas uestra, saltem sacerdotes istos dimittat, cum aliqua iniuriarum suarum satisfactione et petitionum indulgentia, vt paulatim et pedetentim et Reginæ in Catholicos ira
54, f. 102. deferuescat, et Sanctitas V. in alijs capitibus illi gratum faciat; sicque futurum est ut Rex etiam Christ^mus^ sese in hoc negotio tam sancto et Deo grato interponat.

Ad hoc summus Pontifex respondit se oratori gratias agere infinitas Regique suo quod de Catholicorum salute tam sint solliciti, nihilque sibi magis esse cordi quam quod de Regina placanda proposuerat, rogauitque ut negocium hoc de mitiganda Regina urgeret, quam ille nunquam aut censura aliqua perstrinxit, aut ullo alio modo in particulari offendit præterquam quod more Ecclesiæ contra hereticos in generali promulgatur. Promisit autem se ad Religionis negocia sola Catholicos reducturum, sacerdotibus istis satisfacturum, verum illud etiam uidendum est, inquit Pontifex, ut Regina etiam pro parte sua nostris sanctis desiderijs aliquo modo respondeat.

Eadem feria sexta egit pro solito orator Regius cum Ill^mo^ Aldobrandino illique exposuit rerum Anglicarum statum, prout Pontifici prius fecerat; ingenuè fassus est se tum primum sapere et intelligere in quo statu essent res Anglicanæ, neque antehac quicquam intellexisse, opemque suam et operam sacerdotibus promisit, eosque ad se mitti ab oratore rogauit.

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Memoriali dato ab oratore Regio pro sacerdotibus, responsum est postridie, et Cardinalibus deputatis mandatum ut Patrem Personium uocarent et illi Pontificis nomine præciperent ut in scriptis singula obiectorum capita articulatim exhiberet, nomina autem affigi non placuit Sanct^mo^. Personius mensem integrum in congerendis calumnijs conterit, tandem ingentem affert farraginem, integrum nimirum refertum librum; Pontifex autem et Card., nihil fide dignum in illis accusationibus inuenientes, noluerunt ea Sacerdotibus in manus dari, sed iusserunt ut negocia sua prosequerentur. Datæ tum illico a Sacerdotibus rationes, quibus de inobedientia et scismate liberarentur, cum memoriali Sanct^mo^ exhibito, ut controversiam illam dirimeret, quod fecit vi. aprilis, prout in exemplari literarum à sacerdotibus in Angliam missis disertè apparet.[1] 54, f. 102b.

[1] *infra*, p. 146.

Tandem uentum est ad grauamina Archipresbiteri; quæ, quoniam in magnum congesta sunt fasciculum, et constant præcipuè in testium et chirographorum et singraphorum productione et allegatione, nullo modo necessaria duximus in hanc eas inserere relationem, cum in libris impressis multo maior eorum et precipua pars contineatur, et D'nus Musheus, et D'nus Champneus, prolatis ante Card. Archipbr. singraphis cum obmutescentibus Jesuitis et procuratoribus suis, grauaminum omnium rationem fecerunt.

Ad Aldobrandinum missi à legato Christianissimi e sacerdotibus duo ab illo satis benignè excipiuntur. Italico Cecilius incipit sermone et presentem in Anglia Catholicorum statum exponere monereque quam sit necessarium ad conciliandos Principum animos lenitate, submissione et fidelitate vti, quantum adhuc in modo conuertendi Angliam sit erratum, quantum expedit a politicarum rerum cura et sollicitudine Catholicos omnes arcere. 54, f. 103.

Ill^mus^ Aldobrandinus respondit se nemini esse subiectum nec in partes ullius Principis propensum, præterquam quod Religionis Catholicæ propagatio postularet se solum Pontificem agnoscere; de reliquo se sacerdotum conatibus et postulatis eo usque non defu-

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turum quoad Ecclesiæ Sanctæ exaltationem et religionis augmentum spectarent.

Ceptum est postea agi de Personio eiusque libro de Successione Angliæ, quem uidisse se fassus est Card., neque reperiri posse quicquam in illo libro mali. De illa prohibitione Cath. ne res status tractarent cœpit dubitare quis de futura successione prouideret. Responsum est a Cecilio, Qui disponit omnia suauiter, rex regum et Dominus dominantium, per quem reges regnant. Apud Card. in scriptis reliquerunt dicti sacerdotes discursum de presenti Angliæ statu[1] et literam quandam Patris Personij, cui responsum est et demonstratum in mediis illum ualde errasse. Alia enim scripta promiserant per Legatum Galliæ in illum finem transmittere quorum omnium exemplaria, quoniam in sequentibus paginis habentur,[2] breuitatis causa prætermittemus.

[1] *infra*, p. 117.

[2] *infra*, pp. 70, 71, 76, 90, 113.

Vocati sunt deinceps predicti sacerdotes ad examen librorum et propositionum temerariarum quæ à Personio et suis dictis sacerdotibus obijciebantur; ipsi alijs omnibus libris præter illos duos Sanctiss^mo^ D'no et sancto officio dedicatos latine, et librum dictum 'Exemplar quarumdam literarum'[a] nuntium remiserunt, nec ullo modo consentientes fuerunt, propositiones uero istas pene omnes et alias multo peiores in libris Jesuitarum contineri asseuerarunt.

54, f. 103b.

Feria sexta sequenti legatus Galliæ cum Sanct^mo^ egit de iniuria facta sacerdotibus in librorum et propositionum istarum obiectione; accusationem istam non ex alio fonte quam ex inueterato odio exoriri hinc docuit, quod catalogum propositionum æquè in eadem materia temerariarum ex ipsorum Jesuitarum libris collectum Sanctissimo porrexit. Rogatus a Pontifice an haberet libros huiusmodi continentes propositiones, respondit, Parisijs se habere non autem in vrbe; rogatus a Sanctissimo ut pro libris mitteret, misit, et libros cum propositionibus Pontifici 1^mo^ Augusti exhibuit; harum propositionum catalogos, quæ utrinque fuerint datæ, quia inter scriptorum exemplaria inferius continentur,[3] breuitatis causa omittimus.

[3] *infra*, pp. 96, 99, 147.

Vbi omnis ista accusationum tempestas in fumum euanuerat

[a] *The Copies of certaine Discourses.* Imprinted at Roane, 1601.

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iussi sunt sacerdotes negotia sua prosequi, et postquam Archipresbit. suis depinxissent coloribus, considerationes exhibent Sanctissimo de incommodis et inconuenientijs Archipresbiteratus, aliamque subordinationis formam magis ad pacis et unionis perpetuitatem spectantem proponunt; responsum dat Personius cum suis his considerationibus; replicatum est a sacerdotibus huic responso, quorum exemplaria inferius affixa[1] ampliorem hac de re discursum prohibent. **54**, f. 104.

[1] *infra*, pp. 118–146.

Sequuta est decima nona[a] Junij audientia quam habuit coram sua Sanct^te^ solus D'nus Cecilius, oratore Galliæ alijsque eius socijs id ipsum suadentibus, et rebus suis expedire iudicantibus. Quid actum sit in ista audientia uidere licet in particulari hac de re scripto exemplari,[2] et ceteris, annexo inferius.

[2] *infra*, p. 110.

Verum cum diem martis Card. assignauerat,[b] Sanctissimus mutata mente eodem die totum negotium ad Ill^mos^ Sancti officij Cardinales remisit in quo mirifice insudauit Hispaniæ legatus, ut mora ipsa et dilatione, (quæ officio sancto sunt maxime propria) sacerdotes perterriti ad aliquas pacis et reconciliationis conditiones aures præberent.

Iterum afflicti Sacerdotes ad asylum suum confugiunt, ad Excellentissimum nimirum Galliæ legatum; rogant ut Hispanorum et Jesuitarum machinis et ca[ta]pultis uelit ignem suæ auctoritatis admouere, uelitque consilio et persuasionibus suis tantum efficere ne ad tribunal tam tardigradum reicerentur. Legatus omnem illico metum ademit, dixitque se effecturum ut aut mentem mutaret Pontifex, aut moras omnes excluderet.

Quamprimum igitur aderat audientiæ dies: inter cetera sua grauissima negocia causam sacerdotum non negligit. Cepitque dicere mirari se quod sua sanctitas mentem et diem statutum Card. mutauerat, et ad sanctum officium reiecerat, ubi omnia tardissime tractantur et expediuntur, neque posse sacerdotes istos tantam moram pati, occasionesque et opportunitates bene gerendi in Anglia non esse spernendas, iam ab omnibus palam Hispanorum **54**, f. 104b.

[a] According to Mush's English narrative Cecil's audience was on the 17th.

[b] Something left out here. The appellants heard of the remit to the Inquisition on Thursday the 27th.

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et Jesuitarum potentiam in hac causa palpari, palamque apparere rem esse non religionis sed status, rogauitque instantissime Pontificem ut tanto malo tantisque suspicionibus occurreret. Egit denique gratias pro benigna illa D'no Cecilio data audientia, iterumque Pontificem monet nihil in Anglia uel a Rege suo pro Cath. sperari posse boni, nisi Iesuitæ à sacerdotum Regimine separarentur, nisi Cath. omnes à rebus politicis arcerentur, nisi secura fieret Regina se subditis non inimicis fauere, et conscientiarum aliquod leuamen indulgere.

Responsum est a Sanctissimo legatum male intellexisse eius in hac remissione ad Sanctum officium mentem: factum est enim pro sacerdotum istorum bono, ut quæ pro ijs determinata fuerint maiori cum auctoritate, et maturiore cum iudicio prodeant, neque ullam se positurum in hoc negocio moram; de Cecilio autem quem ad me superiori die misisti uelim intelligas illum mihi abunde satisfecisse, velimque ut eum ad omnes Sancti Officij Cardinales
54, f. 105. mittas, et illos informet eodem modo quo me prius informauerat: quod Pontificis propositum cum legatus rediens sacerdotibus communicaverat, mirifice sunt refocillati.

Ill^mis Burghesio et Arigonio eadem narrat Cecilius quæ summo Pontifici 29 Julij [*sic*][a] narrauerat, addens nonnulla de truci, tetrica, et tyrannica Personii natura, de eius stupendis artificiis et technis, et quod ille ad mortem et extremas reduxerat angustias Penellum [?]; totum intremunt Personicum; uoluitque illos simul ad cenam uocare et pacem inter illos concludere. Card. de Ascoli non ausus est illos frequenter admittere propter metum. Card. de Avila tractatum de scismate aliaque Jesuitarum molimina damnat. Ill^mus Sfrondratus hoc modo cum sacerdotibus conclusit, Separetur à vobis Personius, et de pace non erit dubitandum. Singulis Card. transmissa sunt scripta nostra et libri exhibiti; ipsi interim consultant; legatus Hispaniæ, Jesuitarum Generalis, Personius et sui per urbem et Card. aulas uolitant; sacerdotes uero orant.

[a] June 19 *supra*.

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Quatuor à sancti officii Cardinalibus, quatuor istis sacerdotibus ijsque fauentibus, obiecta sunt crimina; primo, Nimia cum statu et magistratu heretico familiaritas; 2°. librorum impressio, quorum nonnulli propositiones habuerunt ualde temerarias; 3°. paucitas appellantium et fautorum suorum. 4°. et ultimo, Regis Christianissimi patrocinium. Ad tria ista prima capita accusationum responsum habetur in particulari quadam schedula suo loco.[1]

[1] *infra*, pp. 62–64.

Ad quartum idem responsum dederunt sacerdotes, quod Personio dederat Excellentissimus Galliæ legatus, cum illum primo inuiseret, et inter cetera quibus usus est ad animum eius a sacerdotibus auertendi argumentum hoc erat præcipuum: quod sacerdotes isti rem religionis ad negotium et causam status reduxissent, confugiendo ad regis Christianissimi patrocinium. Cui legatus uerissimè et acutissimè respondit; Itanè tandem tibi uidetur durum, et ex regis patrocinio uix per tres menses sacerdotibus istis concesso perturbatum et confusum religionis negocium, cum tu tuique per tot annos in tantis negotiorum uarietatibus Regis Hispaniæ nomine, auctoritate, et patrocinio estis usi, aut tibi gloriari licet in tot tuis literis, et scriptis de Regis Hispaniæ protectione; istis uero sacerdotibus Regis Christianissimi protectio vitio est uertenda: quo responso bonus ille pater obmutuit; idipsum responsi dederunt Ill^mis Sancti officii Cardinalibus dicti sacerdotes cum de calumnia ista postulabantur. 54, f. 105b.

Accidit autem ut legatus Galliæ, qui in Personium et suos huc usque solum tanquam Reginæ et status Angliæ inimicos sese armauerat, (quem bis eo nomine semel ante adventum et iterum post aduentum sacerdotum à se reiecerat) suggerente I. C[ecilio] aliam eamque iustissimam haberet occasionem Personium exagitandi. Exhibuit enim D^s. C. ecc^mo legato totum paragraphum e libro Successionis ubi Regi et Coronæ franciæ uideretur inimicissimus: quam nactus occasionem orator Regius sequenti audientia Italicè sanctissimo exhibuit ipsissima Personij uerba,[2] asserens se huc usque in causa sacerdotum Personio restitisse, at iam se, Regis sui nomine, Personium tanquam inimicum sui 54, f. 106.

[2] *infra*, p. 64.

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Reg's et habere et declarare; Pontificis iudicio reliquit si religiosorum essent ista exercitia, Principum et regnorum titulos et regna diuidere, et lites excitare uix multis seculis restinguendas; quod ipsum Thome Fitzharberto, causam Personij apud eum agenti, dixit liberrime, et non sine stomachi demonstratione.

Nono Augusti Pontificis nomine sacerdotes ad se uocat Ill^mus Burghesius, illisque Sanctitatis suæ nomine exhibuit declarationem sancti Officij Pontificisque ipsius manu correctam et annotatam, eandem etiam parti contrariæ porrigit; illico sacerdotes ad legatum confugiunt declarationemque demonstrant; iubet legatus ut quæ pro statu religionis in ijs uiderentur dura ipsi sacerdotes exponerent, seipsum uero quæ ad statum regni pertinerent cum sanctissimo tractaturum.

Itum est eodem die ad Burghesium; Dñus Cecilius cæterorum nomine presentibus singulis ita loquitur: Ill^me, Vidimus S^mi sanctique officij declarationem, et in ea vidimus singularem illam, quam de nobis et negotiis nostris curam habetis, et sollicitudinem agnoscimus, gratiasque habemus infinitas. Verum inter declarationis istius capita, sicut quædam sunt iustissima, et causæ æquitate uestraque pietate dignissima, sic quædam sunt in praxi
54, f. 106b. et executione difficillima, ueluti tali obedire superiori, cum quo tam capitales exercuimus inimicitias; quædam dura, ueluti recursus appellationum ad Ill^mum Farnesium; quædam non satis explicata et perspicua, ut illud de libris et propositionibus temerarijs, quædam factu impossibilia, ut congressus et colloquia cum hereticis v. g. si nouero quenquam Cath. in Reginæ caput conspirasse, in hoc casu teneor vitæ meæ consulere, et Cath. istum accusare.

Quibus respondit Card., hæc mihi in scriptis afferetis, et ego Ill^mis S^ti Officij Dominis legenda et consideranda proponam; quæ singula magis accuratè et curiosè inter cetera exemplaria
[1] *infra*, p. 65. habentur.[1]

Die uero Augusti undecimo Ecc^mus Galliæ legatus cum Pontifice egit de ista S^ti officii declaratione, gratiasque egit quod tandem sacerdotes istos iustissimè à linguis et labijs dolosis

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liberasset, et pro innocentia et iustitia eorum determinasset, at multa sunt capita, quæ aliquanto duriora et cum illo de quo toties egerunt pacifico rerum cursu pugnantia. Primum enim de persona Archipresbit. in pristina dignitate et auctoritate stabilienda infinita occurrunt incommoda, quod Principibus pene omnibus persuasum sit illum in hunc finem fuisse promotum ut Hispanorum inseruiret ambitioni, quod eo magis ex hac tam pertinaci eius defens[e] in hac curia apparet et oppositione facta ab Hispanis ijsque fauentibus equissimis sacerdotum postulatis, magisque continuatio ista post tot obiecta et probata crimina suspectum reddet et negocium, quod 54, f. 107. ipsa prima institutio licet a Personio in hunc finem procurata fuisse constet,[a] neque posse pro omnibus æque Catholicis, aut regem Christianissimum intereedere aut reginam quicquam concedere dum qui ceteris præest utrisque merito sit suspectus.

De appellationibus ad protectorem deuoluendis, magis ista suspicionem augent, et propter sanguinis cum Hispano coniunctionem, et propter necessariam ab Hispano dependentiam; preterea nullo modo uidetur expedire aut dictis Principibus posse hoc satisfacere, ut is eorum statuatur iudex et arbiter quorum opera aliquando uti poterit ad familiæ aut parentum suorum titulos iuraque ad Regni sceptra promouenda. Hæc legatus.

Ad quæ Pontifex respondit Farnesium esse creaturam suam: Archip. uero ad tempus esse in illo statu relictum donec maturius aliquid aliud statueretur, et interim ita esse limitatum et restrictum ut nihil possit omnino in istos uel alios grauius exercere.

Rogavit preterea legatus ut quampridem dimitteret istos sacerdotes, quod se Pontifex facturum pollicetur. Dum in sancto officio de negocijs Angliæ consilium capitur, cursitat cum suis P. Pers. idque sedulo agit, ne tam publicè et tam apertè reprehendatur Archipresb., nec Iesuitæ à rerum regimine amoueantur, ut P. Personius Archipresb. agens in Vrbe statuatur, ne prohibeantur Cath. rebus se politicis immiscere; hoc ipsum P. Generalis, legatus Hispaniæ, eorum deuoti omnes, omni conatu urgent.

[a] Negocium . . . constet. Some clerical error here.

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54, f. 107b. Venit tandem desiderata dies, cum se sacerdotes uocatos intelligunt ad Pontificem 3°. octobris hora pomeridiana 3ª. accepturi, ut existimarunt, breue et benedictionem Pontificis pro commeatu. Pergunt læti ad Palatium, ubi uident omnium in se coniectos oculos, dicunt Janitoribus se à sua sanctitate uocatos esse; responsum est iam sibi omnia nota esse, iussique sunt parumper expectare, ubi notandum est Dñum Cecilium paulo pridem ægrotasse: significatum uero sacerdotibus fuit ut ille si ullo modo è lecto possit surgere una etiam adesset, ita enim iubere Sanctissimum; dum ingressum expectant ad Sanctitatem suam sacerdotes, ecce adest cum Dño Parkero et Archero P. Personius, ad inuicem salutant, sedent unusquisque loco suo, silent, sacerdotes illico suspicari cœperunt quod res erat, P. Personium nimirum uelle, et illos et Pontificem, simulata pace in presentia Pontificis et cum auctoritate eiusdem facienda, et Sanctitati suæ imponere et ipsos causam suam pessundare. Cogitant igitur serio apud se quid agant, quid Sanctitati suæ respondeant, quomodo hoc tàm inaspectatum malum deuitent; orant preterea secretè apud se ut permitteret Deus ne in presentiam Pontificis illo die admitterentur, cum ecce de repentè Cardinales, qui episcoporum examini præsunt, aduenium idque cateruatim. Adest una et Cardinalis Farnesius Protector noster, tanquam testis futurus reconciliationis nostræ.

54, f. 108. Vrbs tota et tota Curia nihil aliud sonat quam Anglorum reconciliationi in Palatio ante Pontificem destinatum fuisse diem illum; tamen, ad portam accedens, Pater Personius responsum accepit illo die non posse Pontificem rebus suis vacare, discedit cum suis, ex quibus duos ad sacerdotes mittit, qui moneant frustra sacerdotes expectaturos, propter Pontificis negotia. Illi uero mirificè eius discessu recreati parumper expectant, donec commode ad magistrum Cameræ et cubiculi præfectum accedens Dñus Cecilius, dixit se adesse prout iussit Pontifex, et una rogare si illos iubeat expectare, qui frustra illos expectaturos respondens eos in diem commodiorem dimisit, abeunt illi rectò ad Asylum suum, et tanti periculi monent legatum Galliæ.

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Postridie quarto nimirum octobris orator Regius suam sanctitatem adiens narrat quàm sit astutus P. Personius, quantum simulata pace solet suis aduersariis officere, quales rumores spargere, qualia mendacia; deinde monet Pontificem sacerdotes istos nullo modo posse cum Personio familiaritatem aut congressum aliquem habere, præter illam quæ Christianis omnibus est communis charitatem, nisi uelint et patriam suam, et Principem, et Regis Christ^mi Patrocinium renunciare; rogat itaque Pontificem ut, si Catholicis in Anglia benè consultum uoluerit, desinat sacerdotes istos ad fictam et auctoritate potius quàm affectione animorum factam pacem compellere: se enim illa ipsa hora, qua cum Personio, Regis sui inimico declarato, pacem tam solemnem fecerint, illos deserturum.

Respondit Pontifex se re uera hoc in animo habuisse, pacem **54, f. 108b.** inter presbyteros et Patrem Personium illo ipso die et loco conclusisse, et[iam] antequam portas cubiculi sui essent egressi presente Cardinali Farnesio ad mutuos amplexus et pacis oscula coëgisse, verum non mihi in mentem uenit nec Personium adeo fuisse artificiosum, nec sacerdotibus tantum inde imminere mali; vnde conclusit Sacerdotibus non futurum hac de causa vlterius molestum. Et sic laqueus contritus est regij oratoris opera et rationibus, et liberati sunt sacerdotes ab istis grauissimis difficultatibus. Eo enim res reducta est (nihil tale somniantibus sacerdotibus) P. Personii dolis et artificijs, ut sacerdotes aut Pontifici et Protectori in os resisterent, et pacem persuadentibus contradicerent, aut Reginam Angliæ, quam satis sibi placatam reliquerant, offensionibus et suspitionibus nouis alienarent, Regisque Christianissimi patrocinio se suosque priuarent, cuius periculi imminentem procellam Eccell^mus Galliæ legatus parua quasi corporis declinatione dissipauit.

Vltimo uero septembris à sancti officii Cardinalibus data est sanct^mo 2ª eorum declaratio, et à sanctitate sua uisa, lecta, et correcta est, et 1° octobris R^mo D'no Vestrio Barbiano data est ut in Breuis formam redigeretur, cuius Breuis exemplar unum

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authenticum ad instantiam legati Galliæ sacerdotibus, alterum Archipr. procuratoribus erat tradendum, verum neutri parti ante
54, f. 109. factas et sigillatas bullas eorum capita erant communicanda. Pater Personius uero tantum potuit Hispanorum potentia, ut præcipua capita totius declarationis sibi communicari curaret: cumque iam die septimo octobris expedita, signata, et sigillata essent omnia iamiam sacerdotibus tradenda tantum effecerunt cum . . . .[a] ut minutam Breuis quæ [*ad præfectum Brevium* . . . .][a] prius ad Vestrium mittitur quàm Breue dimittitur, [. . . *apud Aldobrandinum Brevium præfectum* . . . .][a] à die septimo usque ad 12. qui fuit dies ille quo legatus Hispaniæ suam habet cum Pontifice audientiam, nulla diligentia, nullis precibus, nulla auctoritate dicti sacerdotes obtinere potuerint. Egerunt enim ipsi sacerdotes [. . . *cum pio Aldobrandino*] . . .[a] egit legatus Galliæ utrisque sanctiss^me promisit[b] se illico minutam esse mittendam[b] verum post datam legato Hispaniæ audientiam illico relaxata sunt Breuia, et missa minuta.

Vnde suspicio magna data est oratori Regio dictisque sacerdotibus tergiuersationem istam tantam eo factam esse, ut articulum illum prohibentem Catholicos rebus politicis se immiscere expungerent, quod cum inconsulto Pontifice ueriti sunt facere, eousque sunt usi procrastinatione ista donec Hispaniæ legatus id a Sanct^mo obtinuisset, quod eo uidetur uerisimilius [quod viri quidam magni
54, f. 109b. fideque dignissimi][c] de capite hoc, et articulo in Breui contento certo certiorem fecerunt legatum Franciæ.

Verum mirandum est, et oratoris Galliæ iudicio ingenio et in rebus gerendis dexteritati tribuendum, quod contra tàm potentes exercitatos, astutos, et tot amicis munitos adversarios, et versutissimum illum P. Personium tantum præualuerint isti simplices, egeni, inexercitati sacerdotes.

[a] Erasures. [b] So altered by another hand.

[c] This substitution, together with the preceding erasures on this page, is made by a subsequent hand with the remark at foot of folio 109: "Jay rayé les lignes cy dessus." In each case the name of *Aldobrandinus* or *præfectus Brevium* is legible beneath the erasure.

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Aduersarios in hac causa habuerunt sacerdotes in primo eorum aduentu rerum Hybernicarum expectationem (vix enim post tres menses ex quo ad vrbem venerunt credi potuit Hispanos ex Hybernia fuisse eiectos),[a] Hispaniæ legatum totamque factionem Hispanicam, Iesuitas eorumque deuotos, par. nouas nuptias [?], et ex Anglia Belgia et Hispania literas omnium ordinum et locorum, hominum utriusque sexus, ad Pontificem.

Præter Regis Christianissmi protectionem, et Eccell^mi^ Galliæ Legati infinitam industriam et sagacitatem maximam, amicum habuerunt neminem, qui illis palàm et liberè astipulari sit ausus, tam propter pretentiones (ut aiunt) quas in Curia Romana habent, tàm propter metum J. et H.[b]

Restat vltima audientia cum Pontifice, et valedictio.[c]

Die 16. mensis octobris eiusdem anni, idipsum primo sollicitante legato Galliæ, admissi sunt ad pedes Pontificis dicti sacerdotes. D. Bluettus latine pauca dixit gratiasque egit petijtque reseruari unam benignam aurem suis fratribus si quid imposterum ad eum deferri contingeret.

Ad quæ sanctissimus paucis etiam respondit placere sibi promptam illam obedientiæ uocem ac fidem sine charitate nihil posse, imo nudam esse, docet. Ad pacem hortatur sacerdotes, et una ostendit cupere se omnibus satisfacere, et Angliæ præ ceteris subvenire, at Deus scit, inquit, quantis premor angustijs. Rex Hispaniæ ex una parte, Rex franciæ ex altera vrgent. Principes isti omnes quærunt quæ sua sunt, ita ut nesciam ubi inclinare caput, et sic sacerdotibus plurimas gratias spirituales indulgendo eos dimisit, rogans illos in discessu quid illis de Card. Burghesio

Verba ista egent commentario.

[a] The Spanish army under Don Juan d' Aguilar capitulated at Kinsale on Jan. 2. They embarked for Spain Feb. 20, but it was not until after the siege and destruction of Dunboyn in June that expectation of further Spanish aid was abandoned by the Irish insurgents.

[b] Jesuitarum et Hispaniæ ?

[c] From this point to end of next page of this copy the text is smaller and cramped, as though added as an after-thought. It encroaches on f. 110, the first page of new matter beginning "Responsio," &c.

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uidebatur; responderunt placuisse illis admodum, et iterum benedictione accepta discesserunt.

Finis.

54, f. 110. 2. *Responsio ad ea quæ obijciuntur de Familiaritate quorundam sacerdotum cum Magistratu Hæretico in Anglia, et quod aliqua libertate ab ijs fuerint donati, et quod ab ijs viaticum acceperint.*

Accusati quidam ex nostris, et Londinum è carcere Vuisbecensi uocati, quod contra caput Reginæ conspirassent, cum quodam qui ex Hispania à Iesuita quodam Anglo se missum ad hoc[a] confitebatur, durissimoque et seuerissimo examini eo nomine subiecti, ità se de obiectis criminibus purgarunt, ut non solum se liberos, et omni huius accusationis suspitione uacuos esse ostenderunt, uerum etiam et se et ex fratribus suis quamplurimos nihil unquam aut tentasse aut cogitasse contra statum Regni politicum aut Reginæ
54, f. 110b. salutem demonstrarunt; protestatique sunt a Summo Pontifice a quo missi erant sibi ser[io] et instanter interdictum fuisse ne rebus se politicis aliquando immiscerent,[b] quibus mota regina permisit, ut ex patribus alios liberarent è uinculis, alios adhuc liberos itineris comites haberent, Romamque pergerent, partìm ad aliquas suas dirimendas controuersias, partìm ut illi satisfieret an quæ in Anglia contra Regni statum à quibusdam tractata auctoritate Pontificia fuissent facta necne: quod si hac illam suspitione Summus Pontifex liberaret, spem dedit certissimam de aliquo in fidei negocio liberiori progressu, et grauioris persecutionis relaxatione, neque preterea quicquam à nobis cum magistratu heretico unquam est actum, nisi

[a] See note, vol. i. p. 122. Among other absurdities Squiers in his examination before the law officers in London (Cal. Dom. Eliz. Oct. 19, 1598), with unconscious irony makes Father Walpole say "he would write to Dr. Bagshaw at Wisbeach Castle *as he knew all the courses of the Jesuits.*" The indignant Doctor found no difficulty in establishing his own innocence, but he does not seem to have suspected the possible innocence of Walpole.

[b] I do not know of any such papal prohibition forbidding the missionaries to meddle with political affairs. The Jesuits, however, on their joining the mission in 1580 received from the superiors of their order the strictest injunctions to that effect.

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quod in totius ecclesiæ beneficium sine ullius iniuria aut preiudicio redundet. Si qui sint, qui secus factum existimant, producant in scriptis suspitionum et rationum suarum capita, quibus summa cum fide et simplicitate libentissimè satisfaciemus.

Tantum autem abest, ut à magistratu heretico uiaticum minimum aliquod subsidij pro hoc itinere conficiendo acceperimus, ut libros, supellectilem, omniaque nostra Ecclesiastica ornamenta uendere, æreque alieno nos obstringere simus coacti, ut tandem ad pedes Sanctitatis suæ nos sisteremus ad controuersias istas penitus delendas et dirimendas, ut Catholici in Anglia interna saltem pace et concordia perfruantur.

3. *Responsio ad ea quæ obijciuntur de variis nostro nomine Impressis Libris.* 54, f. 111.

In confesso, et liberrimè profitemur duos libros à fratribus nostris esse editos, unum Sanctitati suæ,[a] alterum Ill^mis D'nis Inquisitoribus dedicatum,[b] idque nostro tum consensu tum consilio in quibus nihil contra fidem aut bonos mores contineri speramus in quorum altero præfixæ sunt rationes, quibus adducti, seu potius coacti, ad prœlium confugimus. De alijs uero libris, quos in nomine sacerdotum secularium nonnulli editos esse dicunt, et hereticas continere expositiones, absque omni nostro consensu et notitia impressos et publicatos esse sanctissimè protestamur,[c] et si qui huiusmodi extant libri, aut omnino conficti sunt, et sub falsis

[a] *Declaratio motuum ac turbationum quæ ex controversiis inter Jesuitas, iisque in omnibus faventem D. Georgium Blackwellum Archipresbyterum et Sacerdotes Seminariorum in Anglia, ab obitu ill^mi Card. Alani piæ memoriæ, ad annum usque* 1601. *Ad S. D. N. Clementem octavum exhibita* etc. By J. Mush.

[b] *Relatio compendiosa turbarum quas Jesuitæ Angli una cum D. Georgio Blackwello . . . concivere . . . sacrosanctæ inquisitionis officio exhibita*, etc. By Dr. Bagshaw.

[c] The books in question were mainly from the pen of William Watson. They were published after the departure of the appellants to Rome, and when known were repudiated by the more moderate men of their party. Even Bagshaw, the author of the *True Relation*, expresses his disapproval of Watson's tone.

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nominibus editi ad maiorem inuidiam et odium in sacerdotes excitandum, conflandum, aut ab aliquo uno inscijs fratribus sunt confecti.

54, f. 111b. 4. *Responsio ad illud quod obijcitur de Paucitate eorum qui ex parte nostra stant in negocijs cum Sanctissimo tractandis.*

Quod ad numerum attinet. Cum causa nostra ab illo Iudice sit audienda qui rei æquitatem, et rationum grauitatem, magis quàm multitudinem personarum respicit, parum refert de numero, modo justum et æquum sit quod proponimus et postulamus, deinde mirum uidetur, quomodo qui paucitatem obijciunt, negotium quod cum sanctissimo sumus tractaturi nescientes scire tamen possint quot sint à nostris partibus, quot contra nos. Denique si totum hoc negotium multitudine suffragiorum putat Sua Sanctitas dirimendum; liberet omnes in Anglia sacerdotes, qui non sint uel actu uel uoto Jesuitæ, ab omni oppressionis, infamiæ, iniuriæque metu, et unicuique auctoritate sua imperet ut suffragium suum ex conscientiæ dictamine liberè proferat et tum demum si pauciores fuerimus causa cademus.

54, f. 112. 5. *Del Libro toccante alla Successione alla Corona d' Inghilterra, fatto per il Patre Personio Anno Domini 94, dedicato all' Ill^mo Conte d' Essex del Consiglio Secreto della Maestà della Regina d' Inghilterra. . . . . di quel libro fol. 150 sono queste parole, nel preiudicio della Corona de Francia.*[a]

This then being so clear as it is, first, that according to the common course of Succession in England and other countries, and according to the course of all Common Law, the Infanta of Spain should inherit the whole kingdom of France, and all other States thereunto belonging, she being the daughter and heir of King

[a] 'A Conference about the next Succession to the Crowne of Ingland . . .' Published by R. Doleman, 1594. I have here substituted for the extract in Italian the passage in the original, taken from Part ii. p. 117 of the reprint of 1681.

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Henry ii of France, whose issue-male of the direct line is wholly extinct; but yet for that the French do pretend their Law Salique to exclude women (which we English have ever denied to be good until now) hereby cometh it to pass that the king of Navarr pretendeth to enter, and to be preferred before the said Infanta, or her sister's children, though male, by a collateral line. But yet her favourers say, (I mean those of the Infanta) that from the Dukedoms of Britany, Aquitain, and the like, that came to the Crown of France by women and are inheritable by women, she cannot be in right debarred; as neither from any Succession or Pretence to England, if (either by the Bloud-Royal of France, Britany, Aquitain, or of England itself) it may be proved that she hath any interest thereunto, as her favourites do affirm that she hath, by these reasons following. Finis.

[*Note in another hand.*] Premier cahier du discours de ce qui cest passè en l'affaire des prestres anglois faict a Rome le 4^{e} nouẽbre 1602.

6. *Memorial to the Pope regarding the Sentence of the Inquisition, August* 12.[a]

Beatissime Pater 54, f. 113

Licet ijs omnibus, quæ à Sanct^{te} V'ra et Ills^{mis} S^{ti} Officij Cardinalibus in causa nostra declarata et terminata sunt, obedirè simus paratissimi, captiuantes sensum et intellectum nostrum in obsequium potestatis et auctoritatis uestræ: tamen cum quæ ad pacis perpetuitatem sunt, quærimus, fratrumque nostrorum pro hoc tempore ora et oculi sumus, tenemur in conscientia, tanquam fideicommissi, antequam ultima manus negocio nostro imponatur, Sanc^{tis} V'ræ considerationi proponere dubia quædam et difficultates, quæ in quibusdam dictæ declarationis capitibus nobis occurrunt.

P^{mo} Itaque quod ad Archipresbiteri personam attinet, videtur ualde difficile et improbabile, ut ijs sacerdotibus, quibus cum

[a] There is no heading to this document in the original.

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tàm grauibus tàm leuibus de causis exercuit et adhuc exercet inimicitias, præsit pacifice; cum sit vir, (ut satis apparet) præter cætera ad iram et uindictam præceps, cum sit Judex sine iurisprudentia, et ità a nostris alienus, ut ne ad conspectum eius eos admittere dignetur; et cum seipsum nesciat regere, quin alieno consilio ad multa se nobisque indigna facillimè impellatur, difficillimum erit alijs diù cum serenitate et tranquillitate, a Sanc^te^ V'ra desiderata, imperet, præcipue cum sit multum verisimile illum esse voto seu resignatione Jesuitam.[a] Preterea autem cum constet omnes 12. Consiliarios, vel Assistentes Archipresbyteri, consilio ac nutu Patris Personij electos fuisse, et ipsorum nonnullos Societati Jesuitarum sese pariter astrinxisse, alios autem utpotè venationibus, aucupijs et similibus ineptijs continuò occu-
54, f. 113b. patos, cum magno uixisse et uiuere scandalo, omnes demum appellantibus inimicissimos esse, et ipso Archipresbitero ineptiores ad gubernandum Ecclesiam, asperum uidetur tantorum Sacerdotum colla huiusmodi aduersantium superiorum uoluntatibus premenda subijcere. Petimus itaque ut Archipresbiter omnino amoueatur, aut saltem alij Archipresbiteri in aliis Prouinciis equali authoritate instituantur, secundum illam quam in considerationibus nostris exhibuimus regiminis formam. Quibus consideratis si nihilominus Sanc^tas^ V'ra nihil de regiminis forma, nihil de persona Archipresbiteri mutandum decreuerit, certum est [nos] obedire, eamque obedientiam alijs omnibus nostris fratribus precipere et predicare.

Verumtamen si Sanc^ti^ V'ræ placuerit perpetuitatem huiusce magistratus ad unius anni aut biennij terminum restringere, magnum erit afflictis fratribus nostris sub tam duro domino solatium. Quod si parum uidebitur ista nostra postulatio opportuna, saltem inter Assistentes, et Consiliarios suos, depositis ineptioribus et Societati astrictis, aliqui ex nostris admittantur, quorum consilijs, et consensu in rebus agendis uti teneatur, et familiariter congrediatur, ut pristina omnium auersio hac mutua animorum coniunctione et consiliorum communione amoueatur.

[a] This appears to be a groundless suspicion.

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Dignetur etiam Sanc^tas V'ra cum Archipresbitero et Assistentibus qui uotum societatis emiserunt dispensare, aut ad ingressum Religionis coarctare, aut demum loco et officio regendis sacerdotibus sæcularibus amouere.

Quod ad communicationem cum Patribus Societatis attinet, petimus, ut hoc[a] tàm ipsis Jesuitis quàm Archiꝑbro sub aliqua Censura Ecclesiastica iniungatur cuius absolutio Sanctissimo et successoribus reseruetur. 54, f. 114.

De Eleemosynis.

Quod ad eleemosynarum caput attinet, in quo omnium ferè Sacerdotum, et Catholicorum egentium (quorum infinitus est numerus) salus et uita sua est, uidentur fratres nostri qui in carceribus, premente inopia, mente exciderunt, et qui extrema sunt passi, tàm in uinculis quam qui liberius in uinea D'ni laborant (idque non solum sciente et consentiente sed et præcipiente Archipresbitero) perperam admonitione ista leuari.

Ad Patres autem Societatis cum maxima eleemosynarum moles, tum ipsorum hac in re exquisita diligentia tum quorumdam collectorum laycorum beneplacito, deuoluatur, quæ de ratione ab ijs exigenda proposuimus uidentur ampliori consideratione digna.

De Appellationibus.

De appellationibus ad Vrbem et ad Ill^mum Protectorem difficultates oriuntur ex parte sacerdotum aliquæ quibus satisfieri uix poterit, paupertas nimirum et impossibilitas sine uitæ periculo Regnum egrediendi, ut appellationes factas prosequantur. Ex parte Ill^mi Protectoris, in huiusmodi causis et controuersijs inexercitatio, et rerum nostrarum imperitia; licet enim Princeps sit nobilissimus, suauissimus et omni uirtutum genere ornatissimus, tamen appellationes istiusmodi (si modo in Regno ad neminem concedatur recursus sed immediatè ad Vrbem sit recurrendum) 54, f. 114b.

[a] That is, the order prohibiting such communication.

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recursus ad Ill^mos aliquos Cardinales, qui in causis nostris magis sunt uersati, saltem ad tempus donec ista penitus sit sedata tempestas, desideratur.

Quod ad libros attinet, omnes libros qui aliquid contra ordinem aut institutum societatis continent, aut contra aliquam priuatam è Societate personam, quod probare non possimus, et una heresim aliquo modo sapiunt: aut contra bonos mores uel sillabam unam habeant, Rothomagi, uel in Anglia, uel ubicunque impressos improbamus et damnamus, et improbari et damnari cupimus. Nominatim autem libellum quendam supplicem ad Reginam Angliæ a Jesuitis conscriptum et promulgatum sine loco aut authore, continentem propositiones æquè scandalosas atque suspectas atque sunt illæ Watsoni, quem nunc accepimus et S^mo exhibuimus, condemnari cupimus, diem tamen, mensem, et annum exprimi petimus, ut distinguantur ab illis alij libri in eodem loco impressi qui ab Ills^mis DD. non improbantur.

Cum utrique parti iniungatur silentium et cessatio à librorum editione, communicatione, retentione et euulgatione, cumque aliqui è societate Patres primi et præcipui fuerunt in huiusmodi libris, literis, et scriptis edendis et promulgandis, ipsi uerò (quod in superiori Bulla nominatim non includebantur) nihil ad se spectare istum articulum asseuerarunt, ideoque liberrimè istiusmodi libros et scripta post promulgatam Bullam emiserunt cum perturbatione et scandalo Catholicorum omnium Anglorum, dignetur S. Sanc^tas ita aliquo modo clausulam istam explicare, ut omnes tàm Relig^sos
54, f. 115. quàm laycos et sacerdotes contineat, et una omne genus librorum, literarum, tractatuum quibus uiri alicuius Catholici fama iniuste uiolari poterit imposterum aut prius uiolata fuerat, quibus excitari ueteres uel concitari nouæ potuerint controuersiæ.

Postremo, ut Catholici omnes omni liberentur scrupulo de retroactis confessionibus, dignetur S. Sanc^tas in cautelam declarare, omnes confessiones factas sacerdotibus appellantibus esse et fuisse ualidas, non obstantibus quibuscunque sententijs, censuris, aut suspensionibus ab Archipresbitero aut . . . Card. Caietano pro

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rebus ad hanc controuersiam spectantibus illatis; et quod ad facultates attinet, ut declarentur omnes esse in statu in quo ante inceptam hanc controuersiam fuerunt; in declaratione facultatum Archipresbiteri petimus explicari dubium illud de facultatibus tollendis, ne possit ab innocentibus pro arbitrio facultates auferre, et ne possit contra appellantes, qui per se uel per alios ad Vrbem uenerunt procedere (cum sit omnium excepto Vuatsono eadem ratio) nisi prius Roma à Sancts^mo^ uel eius iussu ab Ill^mo^ Protectore responsum habuerit. Insuper ut omnis uerborum ambiguitas tollatur in breuibus conficiendis ad lites futuras et contentiones præueniendas, Petimus etiam (ne insontes ex alieno delicto damnum patiantur) ut D'nus Guglielmus Vuatsonus (si ipse quid mali scripserit) Romam vel ad Nuncium Apostolicum in Gallia citetur, librorum suorum rationem ut reddat, et ut se purget aut pœnas debitas sustineat.

Ex literis Archipresbiteri datis nono maij facile iudicabit Sanct^tas^ V'ra quantas ille de facultatibus tollendis et libris imprimendis excitauit tragœdias, etiam post ultimi Breuis Apostolici promulgationem, et quod nullam cum homine tam uiolente et imprudente sperare possumus pacem, nisi aut ipse penitus amoueatur, aut de facultatibus, libris, eleemosynis, consiliarijsque suis statuatur aliquid conforme postulatis et petitionibus nostris; magis cæcam et promptam obedientiam exigunt a sacerdotibus secularibus Jesuitæ in Anglia cum Archipresbitero, quam in ullo, uel strictissimo religiosorum ordine exigitur, cum ipsi tamen Sanct^ti^ V'ræ et superioribus suis obedientiam eo usque exhibent quoad talis submissio in rem suam cedat; quod in Sanct^tis^ V'ræ hoc ult^o^ Breui et in Nuncij Apostolici qui in Belgio uersatur mandato uidere licet de facultatibus non tollendis et libris non imprimendis. 54, f. 115b.

Dignetur etiam Sanct^tas^ V'ra quamprimùm de istis difficultatibus statuere; ut tam leto nuncio quiescant omnes in partibus nostris tumultus, et ne sit fuga nostra in hieme, cum partìm sumus senio confecti, partim ualetudine admodum infirma.

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54, f. 116. 7. *Quomodò media illa quæ hactenus per arma tentata sunt ad reducendam ad fidem Angliam plus Catholicis nocuerunt, quàm profuerunt.*

Eruditissimum et grauissimum virum Doctorem Saunderum in Hiberniam misit Rex Catholicus* cum 100 Hispanis, promissis amplioribus militum et pecuniarum subsidijs, at deceptus perijt cum milite Saunderus, et Magistratus irritatus cepit domi in Catholicos sæuire.

Antè Sanderum Comites Northumbriæ et Westmerlandiæ arma pro fide Catholica restituenda sumpserunt regis Catholici promissis incitati, at delusi à Rege tam sancto miserè perierunt.

In Scotia Comites Angusius, Huntleus, et Erolius à Regis Hispaniæ Nuncio iussi et animati certissima subsidiorum spe arma sumpserunt, sed falsi spe, et turpissimè derelicti, post partam unam uictoriam et sanguinis effusionem fugere sunt coacti.

In expeditione anni 88. nihil minus cogitauit Rex Catholicus quàm de Religionis negotio componendo, nusquam enim adduci potuit ut cum Sixto V^to^ et Card'li Alano aut tempus profectionis aut conditiones administrandæ rei post partam uictoriam communicaret. Vnde Catholicis magna parta est ex illa expeditione inuidia, multi occisi, leges capitales factæ, cum tamen nihil minus in illo negotio quàm Catholicis benefacere cogitauit Rex, si uera sunt quæ de intentione sua narrantur, quæ adhuc, ut opinor, à Catholicis Anglis nescitur.

54, f. 116b. In expeditione anni 96. licèt cum P. Personio et Creswello communicata fuerunt omnia, et sacerdotes et Jesuitæ Angli ab ijs in illa protectione missi, tamen adeò uel intempestiue, uel inconsultè, uel temerè rem gesserunt, ut hæc etiam molimina Catholicis domi capitalia haberentur.

Anno 97 P. etiam Cresuello et Tancredo consulentibus facta est

* This is not quite accurate. The pope, Gregory XIII., not the king of Spain, in 1579 sent Sanders as his agent into Ireland, with Fitzmaurice, who was nominated General with a commission to raise troops in the pope's name. Philip secretly aided the enterprise, and subsequently sent reinforcements. See *Calendar of Spanish Papers* (Eliz. vol. ii. p. 166).

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alia expeditio maritima, missis unà sacerdotibus et Jesuitis Anglis, sed tàm tenuiter, tam imprudentèr, et ut uerendum est intentione non ita syncera, ut prætèr odium et uexationem Catholicis nihil præterea Ecclesiæ commodi attulerunt isti conatus.

In Hybernia Anno 1601 pari fortuna et inconsideratione res gesta est, falsis enim relationibus et informationibus decepti pij principes, zelo moti, dum Catholicis cupiunt consulere, in Catholicorum perniciem persequutorem animant, et hæc omnia duorum uel trium Jesuitarum impulsu.[a]

8. *Multa sunt quæ intentiones Regis Hispaniæ de iuuandis Catholicis suspectas reddunt non Catholicis solum Anglis sed Principibus alijs Catholicis.*

P^mo^ in Gallijs omnes illi prætextus de Religione Catholica tuenda huc redierunt, nimirum, ut Galli Infantam pro Regina sua reciperent nuptam Principi alicui gallo, ita tamen ut ius Regni penes illam maneret, quod ipsum in Anglia uerentur.

2°. Pater Critonius Scotus Jesuita in Apologia quam scripsit, aut scribi jussit, et presentari et exhiberi curauit principibus pro Rege Scotiæ, his utitur uerbis de libro successionis P. Personij sermonem faciens: Etenim probè nouit Catolicus [?] [b] libellum illum 54, f. 117.

[a] The reference here is perhaps chiefly to Father James Archer, chaplain of the Spanish forces, and his assistant, "Father Dominic" Collins (or O'Callan). Father Dominic appears to have been a temporal coadjutor. He had served as a soldier or captain for many years in the French and Spanish armies, and after the capitulation of the Spaniards at Kinsale this "illadvised lay brother" (as he was called by his brother Jesuit in Ireland, Father Field), "full of ancient military ardour, remained behind and repaired to a castle [Dunboyn]," where after a siege of many months he was taken, and afterwards hanged. (Oliver's *Collections*, 240, 244.) About that time or in Feb. 1603, there were five Jesuit missionaries in Ireland, of whom Father Field was the Superior.

[b] "Catolicus." So it appears to be written, though it may be, even so, a copyist's error for "Cecilius." The quotation, as it stands, appears somewhat disingenuous. For Father Creighton's *Apologie*, which I printed in "Documents illustrating Catholic Policy" (*Miscellany: Scottish History Society*, 1893), was directed against Dr. Cecil himself: and the Jesuit, who certainly disapproved of Parsons' treatise,

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tunc maxime conceptum Anglorum animis ingenerasse Regem Catholicum desiderare magis Anglorum Regnum, quam Anglorum conversionem.

3°. quod Catholicos omnes Anglos Belgia eijci curauit, ne Reginæ Angliæ animum offenderet aut inimicam redderet.

4° quod dum uiueret Regina Scotorum ad quam tanquam Catholicam ius Regni Angliæ, mortua quæ nunc rerum potitur, deuolui necessè erat, nunquam adduci potuit Rex Catholicus ut uel pedem moueret in Reginæ illius aut Religionis Catholicæ beneficium; illa uerò capite mulctata exercitum illum stupendum anni 88. coegit et in Angliam direxit.

5° In pace illa quæ inter Gallum et Hispanum apud Veruin conclusa est, ubi de Regina admittenda etiam agebatur, nullibi de

here accuses Cecil of having dishonestly defended it. Cecil had, in fact, drawn up a Memorial for the King of Spain in 1596, to show that King James was always a bitter enemy of Catholics, and that any recent pretensions of his to the contrary were dictated by a fear of the influence of the Book of Succession. "The King of Scotland," wrote Cecil, "hath come to know that this book hath made a great impression on all sorts of people," etc. Creighton remarked bitterly, "This honest man M. C. in the end of his discourse doth much commend Mr. Doleman his booke of the succession to the crowne of England, saying that it hath made such impression in the hearts of all sorts of men that the K. of Scotland thereby hath been moved to seeke to the Pope for his conversion, and the K. of Spayne for a league to assure his partie in tyme: but here M. C. cunningly. . . as he hath begonne and proceaded continually w^th^ malitious lyes so he doth end, *for he* [Cecil] *knoweth well that Mr. Doleman's booke hath made an impression in the hearts of Englishmen that the K. of Spayne doth more affect the kingdome of England then the conversion of the people to the Catholiq faith, as they beleeved before.*"

Dr. Cecil's former intrigues with the Spanish party were probably as insincere as they were mercenary, and his later alliance with the Appellants appears to have been the result of a genuine conversion. His conversion, however, was very recent. Nov. 26, 1601, not three months before Cecil's arrival in Rome on his present mission, Cardinal d'Ossat wrote to Villeroi warning him against certain Scots and English then in France who were acting as spies on behalf of Spain, and naming among others Robert Bruce, "fort mauvais homme," and an English priest John Cecil, "nommé le Docteur Cecill, comme il est aussi Docteur passé à Cahors, âgé de quarante ans, duquel on sçaura nouvelles au Collège des Mignons. Il a été en Espagne & fait le mal-content des Espagnols, & néanmoins écrit à Rome au Père Personius, Jésuite, Anglois de nation & Espagnol de dévotion." Lettre ccc. (Vol. 5, p. 58.)

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Catholicis facta est mentio. In pace etiam quæ nuper Bolonia in Gallijs tractata est, nulla aut mentio aut ratio Catholicorum est habita; ita ut ex hereticis quidam uir Senatorius solebat dicere plus debere Pontificem Romanum et Catholicos comiti Tironio Hiberno quam Regi Hispaniæ; ipse enim primo loco posuit conditiones pro Religione stabilienda, neque alitèr se ullo modo uelle conuenire professus. Rex autem Hispaniæ nihil minus quàm de Religione cogitauit in illis suis cum hereticis congressibus.

6° Quod autem in Collegijs et seminarijs alendis et fouendis confert beneficij, si propter Deum hoc fit et pietatis et religionis intuitu, accipiet mercedem, et nullo modo se patietur à tàm sancto opere diuerti; sin horum qui aluntur opera et apud suos gratia et fide ad Regni illius principatum uiam munire parat, spes hæc ubi euanuerit etiam charitas illa excidet. Hanc Regis Catholici intentionem de regno Angliæ uel sibi uel suis hac largitate in seminarios acquirendo suspectam etiam reddunt subscriptiones quas ab alumnis P. Personius exegit in hunc finem, et liber ille successionis ab illo diuulgatus.[a] 54. f. 117b.

9. *Exempla quædam S. S^ti notissima quibus moueatur Jesuitis interdicere rerum politicarum curam eosque ex aulis et castris Principum euocare.*

Jesuitæ quidam Sebastianum Lusitaniæ Regem præcipitem in expeditionem illam Barbaricam egerunt ubi miserè perijt.

[a] The motive of Philip II. in supporting the English colleges within his dominions at Douai, St. Omer, Valladolid, etc., forms the main subject of an important letter of Cardinal d'Ossat to Henri IV. dated Nov. 25, 1601. The cardinal maintains, but with too little discrimination, that the principal care of these establishments is to educate the pupils in the firm belief that the throne of England belonged by right of succession to Philip II. or his children; and he continues: "Et après que les jeunes gentilhommes Anglois ont ainsi fait le cours de leurs études, ceux qui sont reconnus pour mieux espagnolisez, & pour les plus courageux & plus fermes au *Credo Espagnol*, sont envoyez en Angleterre, pour y semer cette foi, & y gagner ceux qui n'ont bougé du pais, & pour épier & donner avis aux Espagnols de ce qui se fait dans l'Angleterre & de ce qui leur semble se pouvoir & devoir faire pour la faire tomber en la puissance d'Espagne; & pour, si besoin est, subir martyre

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P. Odo Piginettus [a] [Pigenat] et Cumblottus [Commolet ?] res unionis in Gallijs administrarunt, sed quam infelicitèr, exitus loquitur.

P. Carillius Transyluaniæ Principem eiusque negotia direxit missus ab eo in Hispaniam et Romam Nuncius, sed euanuerunt eorum consilia uniuersa.

P. Archerus, missus à Comite Tironio cum P. Personio, Romæ iussus est conferre symbolum, remissus est unà cum P. Mansonio
54, f. 118. Nuncio, sed quo successu iudicet qui, etc.

P. Critonius contra Regem suum priuata auctoritate egit in Hispania, mittit ad Catholicos Comites ut nomina sua cartæ uacuæ apponant, ab ipso in Hispanijs implendæ pro ratione temporum et negociorum; mittuntur nomina; capitur nuncius; Comites læsæ maiestatis rei efficiuntur. Hos tamen nobiles postea idem Critonius mutata mente tanquam proditionis reos pro ijsdem quas exegerat subscriptionibus exagitat.[b]

P. Gordonius a sua Sanc^te^ pecunias Regis Scotiæ nomine petijt, concessit pius Pontifex, redit bonus pater cum pecunijs recta ad

aussi bien ou mieux pour la dite Foi Espagnole, que pour la Religion Catholique." If this could be the deliberate belief of a churchman and statesman of d'Ossat's character and sagacity, is it surprising that Elizabeth and her counsellors held the same belief and acted upon it?

[a] Odo Pigenat, provincial of the Jesuits and member of the Council of the "Sixteen" who held their meetings commonly in the Jesuit college at Paris. Father Commolet was another prominent supporter of the League. For the opinions of the Appellants on these affairs, see the Preface "To all English Catholicks that are faithfull subjects to Queene Elizabeth our most dread Soueraigne" prefixed by "The Secular Priests" to their translation of the *Jesuits Catechism*, 1602.

[b] See "The Spanish Blanks and Catholic Earls 1592–4" in the *Scottish Review*, July 1893. Father Creighton's apparent change of front was the subject of Cecil's rare tract "A Discoverye of the errors committed and injuryes don to his MA. off Scotlande and Nobilitye off the same realm and John Cecyll pryest and D. of diuinitye by a malitious Mythologie titled an Apologie and compiled by William Criton Pryest and professed Jesuite, whose habit and behavioure whose cote and conditions are as sutable, as Esau his handes, and Jacob his voice," dated Montmartre, Aug. 10, 1599.

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Comitem Huntleum nepotem suum, mentitus Pontifici de Regis desiderio.[a] Vnde Catholicorum mira exorta est persequutio.

P. Personius libros scripsit de successione; in expeditione Ann. 88. 96. et 97. et 1601. multa fecit, scripsit, et plurimum elaborauit; in Gallijs tempore unionis, author, impulsor, et consultor fuit; ad Comitem Darbiensem misit ut de Regno capessendo cum illo ageret, sed frustra omnia.

P. Holtus misit in Angliam Holsettum [? Hesketh] ad animum Comitis Darbiensis in eo ipso Regni negotio explorandum, sed capite plectitur nuncius, et post paucos dies comes ueneno perijt.[b]

P. Cresuellus et Tancredus[c] in expeditionibus illis anni 96. 97 et 1601 multa et magno cum zelo prouenerunt et perfecerunt; Sacerdotes et Jesuitas itineris comites miserunt, sed quam prosperè quantoque ecclesiæ bono malim tacitè apud me cogitare quàm scriptis committere.

P. Antonius Crispus etiam in Belgijs multa in se suscepit, multa molitus est, sed exitu infelicissimo, ut omnia solent in hoc genere Jesuitæ, iusto Dei judicio quod ea, quæ ad professionem et uocationem suam nullo modo spectent, tam abundè amplexarentur. 54, *f.* 118b.

[a] This is a common mistake. Father Gordon made no false pretences to the pope. His receipt to the papal treasury, signed by him Aug. 9, 1594, is printed in Bellesheim's *History of the Cath. Ch. in Scotland* (Hunter Blair's transl., iii. p. 449) and bears plainly on the face of it that the money was paid by Mgr. Gio. Sapiretti, the deputy paymaster of the Camera Apostolica in Scotland to the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol to enlist soldiers in defence of good Catholic Scots against the heretics.

[b] On the death of the fourth Earl of Derby, in 1592, Richard Hesketh, a Catholic gentleman, was commissioned by Sir William Stanley and Father Holt to negotiate with the Earl's son and successor Lord Strange regarding the succession to the crown. Lord Derby delivered Hesketh to the Council and he was executed for high treason, Nov. 29, 1593. Gillow, *Bibl. Dict.*

[c] Joseph Cresswell, sometime rector of the English College at Rome and subsequently superior of the English missionaries in Spain, died 1623. Charles Tancred was in 1592 minister at the Seminary of Seville. He died at Valladolid, July 1599 (Oliver).

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Vincentius Zelander, Coadiutor seu laicus Jesuitarum frater, quàm infeliciter res Belgicas tractaverit quantumque se immiscuerit V. S. cuius est vsus et abusus auctoritate optimè nouit.

P. Cecilia[nus] [a] in Hispania quam serio ad exercitum et expeditionem illam Anglicam Anni 1596. promouendam laborauerit cum collega suo Personio, et quam infaustè non dicam, in fide exitus ipse loquitur.

Ducem etiam de Grates ad quantas reduxerunt angustias Jesuitæ, qui rebus politicis non solum in senatu suo interesse sed præesse uoluerunt, testis est clades et defectio miseranda quibus ditiones eius affliguntur.

P. Richardus Warpolus misit in Angliam Squierum ad reginam veneno aggrediendam, quò nihil Catholicis et sacerdotibus aut iniquius aut iniuriosius excogitari potuit.

10. *Memorial, setting forth on the part of the Jesuits the injustice and inconvenience of the conditions under which it was proposed that Queen Elizabeth should grant liberty of conscience to Catholics.* [b]

54, *t.* 119. Però la uerità è che uedendo hora la Reina col suo molto dispiacere et dispetto, che i Catholici in processo di 40 anni di persecutione sono tanto accresciuti, che di pochi ch' erano al principio s' habbiano di già fatto un corpo grossissimo et fortissimo, sotto un capo che è l' Archiprete immediatamente subordinato à S. S^{tà}, et parendole che mentre staranno in piedi i seminarij, et durerà questa subordinatione accompagnata con l' industria et buon zelo de i padri della compagnia, accrescerà ogni giorno più questo corpo, et si manterrà iui l' auctorità di S. S^{tà} la quale le pare incompatibile con la sua, et insieme hauendo questi sacerdoti, ò almeno alcuni di loro confederati, già resa obedienza alla regina, et promesso di resistere etiamdio à sua Sang^{tà} medessima quando sentasse qualch' cosa contra di lei, ancorche fosse per materia di

[a] Father Ceciliano, appointed by Father Parsons to be first rector of the seminary of Valladolid, founded in 1589.

[b] There is no heading to this document in the MS.

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Religione come appare nelli libri loro stampati; si può credere che acciòche sua Sang^tà richiamasse i Padri et l' Archiprete d' Inghilterra, i quali non può per altra uia cacciare ò dominare, si contentarebbe che questi pochi sacerdoti restassino, et ancora permetterebbe loro alcuna moderatione dalle leggi penali, per il tempo però che paresse à lei, et per quelli solamente che si obligassero di accettare et adempire alcune conditioni, le quali facilmente se possino raccogliere da un libro di Vassino [Watson] che è uno de i sacerdoti appellanti, et compagno di questi, et scritto in Inglese, et publicato con suo proprio nome, nel quale mostra che qualsiuoglia Catholico douerebbe contentarsi di poter godere qualunque pace, per abietta et uile che fosse, per che la Regina venisse à mitigar le leggi penali. 54, f. 119b.

Fra l' altre conditioni queste si leggono. Pr^a, che i Padri della Compagnia, et tutti quelli Catholici, cosi laici come sacerdoti, che stanno sotto l' obedienza dell' Archiprete siano cacciati da Inghil^a. 2^a, che i Cattolici che hanno di rimanere debbono scoprire et accusare tutti gl' altri della parte contraria. 3^a, che non si mandino i figlii per imparare nei Seminarij et Collegij di Roma, Spagna, et Fiandra, affirmando che questo dourebbe esser aiutata con altre leggi, uie più rigorose che mai. 4^a, che nissuno parli ò scriua cont^a le leggi imposte ò da imporsi dal parlamento contra la Religione et fede Catolica. 5^a, che non si oda parola ò segno dal successore. 6^a, finalmente che tutti si oblighino con giuramento di difendere la Regina contra sua S^tà in caso etiamdio concernente la Religione, al qual proposito sappiamo che già in Inghilterra s' è tratto con l' occasione che ne diedero i sacerdoti inquieti di proporre a tutti i Catt^ci il prefato giuramento con incredibile danno loro e della Chiesa, percioche se lo rifusano come tutti i buoni senza dubio faranno, saria senza dubio maggior la persecutione che mai: et se l' accettano, si esclude à fatto l' auctorità della Sede Apostolica da Inghil^ra et in questa guisa la libertà di coscienza concessa, et accettata con tali conditioni serà più preiudiciale alla chiesa di Dio che non è stato ò potrà giamai essere la persecutione della Reina, perche nella persecutione s' è sempre amplificata la Chiesa, et uie

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54, f. 120. più si amplificarà, sanguis enim martyrum semen est Ecclesiæ: Ma con tal libertà di conscienza presto verrebbe à finire et mancare à fatto.

Quanto à concedere una libertà di conscienza, che sia utile et sicura per i Catholici, con annullare et reuocare le leggi fatte contra di loro sino al tempo presente, et permettere libero exercitio della Religione con le Chiese, et Vescoui per ordinare sacerdoti, et fare collegij in uece di seminarij, non può la Religione Cattolica mantenere in Inghilterra, è da credere indubitamente che la Reina non sia per farlo mai per il periculo che giudica douere soprastare per questo alla sua Relig^ne e stato come di sopra si è detto; mà io credo che la Reina ancorche volesse non si possi giamai fare perche tal libertà di conscienza non si può dare, ne manco si ponno annullare le leggi già fatte, ne rinouare altra cosa senza consentimento delli tre stati del Regno che communemente si dice parlamento, et è cosa certa che il clero heretico, il quale è uno delli tre stati, et i Puritani de i quali molti ancora sono ne i altri due, non lo consentiranno mai. Et questi come capricciosi, et impatienti, ò furiosi confonderanno, et metteranno sotto sopra il tutto, anzi che permetterà tal cosa. Onde sapendo tutto questo la Regina molto bene non è da credere ò sperare che sia per tentarlo.

Finalmente si ha da considerare che certezza si hauerà che la Regina habbia da osseruare tutte le promesse fatte à nome di lei da questi sacerdoti, perche può essere fraude in questo negocio non solamente dal canto della Reina, ma ancora da canto di questi
54, f. 120b. sacerdoti, di cui questo può essere inuentione, benche sia stato ancora conferito con essa lei per potere sotto pretesto di procurare libertà di conscienza à i Cattolici più liberam^te et con minore sospetto di malitia vomitare poi al veleno contra il P're Personio i P'ri della Compagnia, et l' Arch. attribuendo loro la cagione di tutta la persecutione, parte per discolparsi della disobedienza et parte per indurre S. Sang^tà à chiamarli d' Inghilt^a.

Di questo non ho debole coniettura per una lettera di Bluetto, il quale è il più vecchio di questi che qui sono, scritta mentre che lui stava ancora prigione in Inghilt^a ad uno de suoi Compagni

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chiamato Musheo[a], che parimente e uenuto con lui, nella quale lettera li significa come alla fine dopo molto trauaglio et spesa hauea ottenuto di parlare all Reina et suo consiglio, et che insieme hauea procurata licentia per se et per altri trè di vscire d' Inghilterra, con spargere uoce di essere mandati in essilio per proseguire lor appellatione, differendo il dirl' le particolarità per quando si trouassero insieme, aggiunge dipoi sperare grandemente che la sua trama (tal nome le dava) non sarebbe stata giudicata da lui ni meno dall altri cattiua ne infruttuosa et perche questo, come altre cose accennate in questa lettera, si ossequi dipoi apuntino si può presumere che quanto trattino hora questi sacerdoti à nome della Reina sia la trama di Bluetto laquale piacque alla Reina per il seruitio che riceuerebbe giustificandoli la persecutione contra à Catt^li con publicare cosi in Roma come in Fiandra, Francia et Italia, che Giesuiti, et altri boni Cattolici, et l' Archiprete trattano cose contro di lei con il Re di Spagna, il che questi sacerdoti hanno fatto, non solamente in uoce ma anco in scritti mandati fuora da loro ò da Comp^ni accattare gratia da gli heretici, con i quali libri, oltre il calumniare, come si e già detto il loro Archip. il P. Personio et tutta la Compagnia di Giesu s . . . lano sfac . . . ia . . . rente in alcuni luoghi de Cardinale Alano et de Dottore Sandero et con poca riuerenza di trè Sommi P[ontefici Pio] V^to, Gregorio 13°, et Sixto V^to, perche eglino scommunicarono la Regina nel che dicono manifeste heresie contro l' auttorità della sede Apostolica, In summa, posuerunt in cœlum os suum con detrahere all' istessi martiri d' essere giustamente, et legitimamente condemnati et giustitiati come traditori, per non hauere uoluto confessare esser cosa licita resistere à Sua Sang^tà in caso che uolesse deporre la Reina per titulo di heresia; et se ben questi sacerdoti neghino hora hauere scritto tali libri, affirmando che gli heretici l' hanno publicato sotto nome loro, con tutto ciò si uederà manifestamente quando si uoglia che eglino ò almeno alcuni delli appellanti lor confederati à nome de chi uenghino gli scrissero et publicarono à nome di tutti loro.

54, f. 121.

[a] Printed in Parson's *Apologie*, f. 108, and in *Jesuits and Seculars*, p. xcvi.

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Questa non è la prima uolta che gli huomini di questa fattione hanno conspirato al Consiglio della Reina per cacciare dell' Isola
54, f. 121b. i Giesuiti, percioche, intorno all' Anno 1586, alcuni di loro lo trattorono con Vualsighamo, secr^rio della Reina, et scrissero libri non solamente con' il P're Personio, et tutta la Compagnia, ma etiamdio contro il Cardinale Alano, et insieme contro l' auttorità della sede Apostolica, come pur' ancora questi fanno; però il fine fù che il principale di loro fu scoperto per spia, et essendo fatto prigione in Parigi confessò il tutto, et in prigione poi pentito sene passò all' altra vita.

Ne tanpoco è questa la prima volta che la Reina ha tentata de ingannare il sommo Pontefice con simiglianti prattiche, perche per alcun tempo trattonne Gregorio 13° di felice mem^a in speranza della sua conversione alla sede Apostolica, et in quel mentre andaua souertendo alcuni di questa Corte con denari; accioche persuadessero à Sua Sang^tà che abandonasse la protectione de Seminarij, et de Catolici Inglesi, già che ella non perseguitaua alcuno per la Religione, mà che solo castigaua li Catolici per le loro conspirationi contra di lei, et questo trattato durò dopo molte proposte et risposte, infin' à tanto che alcuni Catolici Inglesi in Parigi uennero à scoprire che la Reina haueua in termini di un anno rimessa in questa Città 20,000 scudi d' oro oltre altri 15,000 che il suo Agente Aldredo portò seco in tanti doppij de quattro in una uolta, come l' istesso confesso à quello che scriue questo: Di tutto questo essendo auuisato il Pontefice subito se accorse del ciro et dell inganno.

Concludo con dire che da quello di che fin' hora ho ragionato si
54, f. 122. può facilmente raccogliere qualsia il trattato presente di questi Sacerdoti, et quale è la risolut^ne che si puo sperare della prudenza di S. Sant^tà, perche non potendo per ragion di stato dar la Reina tal libertà di conscienza, quale sarebbe à proposito et conueniente, et presumendoci, che questo trattato sia trama et tela, ordita de questi istessi sacerdoti, sarà incaminata solamente à fini loro particolari con accordo et approbatione della Reina, per il ben et utile che da questo à lei ne potrà succedere.

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Et finalmente douendo quello che dimandano riuscire più dannoso alla Chiesa de Dio che non è stato ò ha per essere l' istessa persecutione si deue credere che non parerà giusto à S. S^{tà} de concedere loro queste dimande, ne hauer' consideratione alle promesse et effetti loro et della Regina, ancorche mostrassino espressa commissione di lei, quanto meno poi se non n' hauessero; è particolarmente poi cosa certa che non ricorrerebbe la Reina per aiuto à Sua Santità, contra l'Arciprete et li Padri della Compagnia, se li potesse cacciare senza lui, ò fare loro egual danno et alla chiesa per altro mezzo, la quale ragione potrà mouere S. Santità à continuare le missioni de padri della Compagnia in Inghilterra, et confirmare con altri mezzi la subordinatione et auttorità dell' Arciprete, commandando in tanto à questi pochi inquieti sotto graui pene et censure ad obedirlo, et lasciare tutte queste prattiche con heretici. Il che se si sarà senza dubio che la maggior parte di loro si ridurrà ad obedienza et unione, et solamente si perderanno quelli pochi che sono incurabili et filij perditionis (sè però uene sarà alcuno frà di loro), i quali essendo conosciuti et cacciati il corpo restarà del tutto purgato et allegerito dell' humore peccante et cattiuo. Per il qual fin si può credere che Iddio habbia permesso questa diuisione, et che i Principali siano venuti a Roma in tempo che la verità potrà essere del tutto conosciuta, et si potrà imporre fine et remedio intiero a gran scandali, et danni, che tutti nascono dal procedere loro, da libri che compongono i loro congiunti, et dalla intelligenza che certo hanno con li heretici. 54, f. 122b.

10. *Discorso sopra la proposta che si hà dà fare per quanto si dice, à S. Sant^{ta} da alcuni Sacerdoti Inglesi à nome della Regina d' Inghilterra, circa il dare Libertà di Conscienza à Catholici di quel Regno.*

Per conoscere se in questo negocio si procede sinceramente ò con fraude trè cose si deuono considerare, p° se per ragion di stato deue concedere la Regina à Catholici libertà di conscienza. 2° se

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sua Santità deue ammettere le dimande che faranno questi sacerdoti. 3° che sicurezza daranno per l' adimpimento delle promesse che faranno à nome della Regina.

Quanto al primo se bene paresse à molti che la Regina deue cercare di guadagnarsi et obligarsi i Catthol. del suo Regno con promettere loro libertà di conscienza, et in questo modo liberarsi da ogni timore, et pericolo del Regno, nondimeno è cosa certissima, che la Regina e consiglio hanno sempre hauuto, et di presente
54, f. 123. hanno, diuersissimo parere, giudicando che per essersi ella dichiarata nemica della Chiesa, et della sede Apostolica (conciosia, che ella si è fatta, per dir cosi, Antipapa con chiamarsi Capo della Chiesa) non potrà giamai riputarsi sicura mentre nel suo Regno si riconosce l' auctorità della sede apostolica, perciòche è cosa certa appresso loro che quanto più multiplicaranno i Catholici tanto più crescerà il numero dei nemici loro, sà ancora la Regina che con dare la libertà di conscienza à Catholici, non se li può tanto obligare ò seco congiungere, che uenghino à rimanere disobligati ò disuniti da loro supremo pastore, per essere l' obligo della conscienza il maggior che s' habbia, per questo rispetto sino dal Principio di suo Regno pigliò per ispediente di tenerli sempre tanto bassi, et oppressi, che non si potesse temere di loro ni alcuna maniera conforme à i Principij da Macchiavello (il quale dall heretici è seguitato in tutto) che consiglia l' istesso, in caso si trouino alcuni disgustati, et nemici del stato.

Per questo hauendo uisto la Regina quanto sia cresciuto il numero de Catholici in Inghilterra, nella persecutione, et le grandi difficultà che si sono passate, facilmente hora si persuade, et con ragione, che con dar' libertà di conscienza habbia da crescere molto più in pochissimo tempo con più pericolo della sua falsa religione et stato.

Per questa ragione si ha da stimare certissimamente che non porra mai i Cattolici in stato d' onde ne possi riceuere ò temere danno, mà più presto userà l' istessi artificij che fin hora hà usata d' andare procurando di disunire i Cattolici, et diuiderli, et perse-

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guitarli, sotto pretesto et colore di materia di stato leuandoli mille testimonij di tradimento, et conspirationi finte, ingannando frà tanto tutti i Principi Catolici con false demonstrationi di quando in quando di inchinarsi alla religione Cattolica ò almeno di permettere la libertà della conscienza à Cattolici spargendo infinite bugie per tutta Christianità con spie, et con libri stampati in uarie lingue, per giustificare il rigore et la crudeltà usata contro i Cattolici. 54, f. 123b.

Et come la Regina et gli heretici maggiormente abhorriscono et odiano q^elli che con maggiore zelo attenda promouere la Relig^ne Cattolica in Inghilt^a (come unitamente già fecero per molti anni il Cardinale Alano di felice memoria, et il P're Personio, et dopò la morte del Cardinale il Padre detto più che altri: poiche non solo fù cagione che in Spagna et in Fiandra si facessero trè grandi seminarij et due residenze per institutione de giovani et sacerdoti Inglesi, mà ancora che si sedassero et quietassero i tumulti del seminario et Collegio Inglesi à Roma non senza dispiacere et rabbia delli heretici d' Inghilterra per cui opera erano nutrite tali discordie, et oltre ciò pure in beneficio della Christianità Inglese ha mandato fuori parecchi libri et tuttauia manda pieni de molta doctrina, et eruditione, et edificatione Christiana, in essi mostrando chiaramente li errori, et discoprendo l' inganni loro) perciò dico la Regina et heretici non cessaranno di perseguitarlo acerbissimamente con spargere per mezzo di loro spie infinite calumnie, et falsità, et hora à questo fine hanno preso il più apparente mezzo, et termine, et il più a proposito che mai, quali sono questi sacerdoti, i quali per essere tali, et per hauer' patito per la fede Catt^a, si pensa la Regina, che facilmente debbono essere creduti da tutti; onde con questa lor uenuta à Roma quando bene non facessero altro effetto che di straccare Sua San^ta, et empire questa Corte delle dicerie et querele, con far' ancora sapere questa discordia frà sacerdoti con molto scandalo de boni, et de altretanto populo, et piacere à gli heretici, et suscitare uarij rumori et risse contra à Cattolici in [universale], ma in particolare contra il P're Personio, l' Archipr., et i PP. della compagnia in Inghilt^a, à fine di dare 54, f. 124.

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colore et apparente giustitia alla persecutione mossa iui contro à Cattolici, giudicarà con tutto ciò la Regina, d' hauer' da loro in tal modo riceuuto importante seruitio.

Oltre ciò dal procedere della Regina in questo negocio si uede chiram^e che ella non pretenda altrimente contentare inunire seco i Catolici, poiche fauorisce questi pochi sacerdoti (i quali non passano trenta) et perseguita tutti gli altri buoni Catolici che arriuano à molte migliaria, nel che dimostra, euidentemente, che non hà altro fine che de nutrire et fomentare la diuisione comminciata trà Cattolici, per poterli poi rouinare tutti, et specialmente quelli che non si uorranno conformare con la sua uolontà.

In confirmatione di questo si può credere che se ella hauesse ueramente uoglia di trattare sinceramente qualche cosa con sua Santità hauerebbe eletto alcuni da i Principali Catt^li et più grati,
54, f. 124b. et accetti à sua S^tà et alla maggior parte de Cattolici, et non Sacerdoti inquieti, i quali per la loro inquietudine hanno giustamente meritato il sdegno de sua Sang^tà et cattiua opinione appo tutti gli altri Catt^li di Inghilterra dai q^ali (come confessano i compagni ne lor' libri) sono tenuti per seditiosi et inquieti.

Hora quanto à quello che si hà da richiedere da sua santità in contra cambio della libertà di conscienza che si permette, si dice che chiederanno, che sia leuato, et annullato l' Archipr., et si scacciano i Padri della compagnia d' Inghilterra, et tutti gli altri sacerdoti che uiuono sotto l' obedienza dell' Arciprete ; et che stanno d' accordo et conforme per essere tutti questi (come dicono costoro) confederati col Rè di Spagna contra la Regina affine di darli il Regno, et consequente cagione de tutta la persecutione mossa contro i Cattolici.

In queste due cose siano de considerare primament^e quello che si chiede, 2^te la ragione per cui si chiede. Quanto alla prima parmi che sia simile alla dimanda dei lupi i quali come si fauoleggia promisero alli pastori di far pace con loro pur che cacciassero uia i cani che guardano la mandra, perciò che, che altro sarebbe scacciare i PP. d' Inghilterra, e l' Archiprete, con i sacerdoti che l' obediscono

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che sono più de 400, tutti boni, et zelantissimi del seruitio de Dio et della santa sede, et in loro uece mettere questi pochi inquieti, et d' accordo col nemico, sino priuare le pouerelle pecore de proprij et cari pastori, et lasciarli alla misericordia, anzi darli in preda a lupi rapacissimi, d'onde in breue ne succederia infallibilmente la total Ruina della Religione Cattolica? 54, f. 125.

Mà quanto à quello che tocca alla Religione per cui ciò si dimanda, molto poco ne tengono questi sacerdoti si la proporranno, poiche conoscono bene eglino intrinsicamente la malitia, malignità, et artificij delli heretici in sapere calumniare i Cattolici, colorire, et coprire la persecutione col pretesto, et manto della ragione del stato, per rendere i Catholici odiosi al popolo, et con questo oscurare et togliere la gloria debita à i martirij loro. Di questi ce ne sono moltissimi essempij nelli santissimi martiri ingiustamente condemnati sotto colore di tradimento, et conspirationi uane, et finte, come il P're Campiano della compagnia di Giesu, et undeci sacerdoti con lui con molti altri dipoi, i quali morendo hanno protestato tutti la propria innocenza in questo particolare, et è cosa manifesta che trà tutti i Padri della Compagnia et sacerdoti de seminarij, che sono stati imprigionati, tormentati, ò martirizati da che comminciò la persecutione, non si hà trouato pur' uno in cui fosse attacco de tradimento ò colore di materia di stato, ne meno nelli altri, eccetto in un solo per nome detto Balardo, sacerdote secolare del seminaio de Rhemis in Francia, in tempo della Regina di Scotia che sia in cielo. Il quale fu impiegato nelle cose di lei per alcuni de i Principali di questa fattione nemica de Cardinale Alano de felice memoria, de P're Personio, et di tutta la Compagnia di maniera che frà loro, non si fu nissuna corrispondentia, communicatione, ò intelligentia; tutto questo sanno molto bene questi sacerdoti, mà se ardiscono à negarlo (come hanno fatto li compagni ne i loro libri) saranno conuinti d'auanti à chi sarà disegnato da Sua Santità per q^ta causa. 54, f. 125b.

Ma se la Regina pretende dar' libertà di conscienza, ne altro serue de padri, et del' Archiprete che de loro trattati, et prat-

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tiche consapute, non occorre che cerchi da sua Sang^ta^ che li scacci d' Inghilterra, perciò che hauendo i Cattolici libero essercitio della religione loro con sicurezza sufficiente et ragioneuole, non si hauerà più di bisogno di seminarij in Spagna, ne di riceuere mercedi et fauori del Rè Catt^co^ perche cessaranno tutte le occasioni e fundamenti de sospetti et trattati con esso lui, et di patti, et con Archip., i quali somam^e^ desiderano che i Cattolici ottenghino libertà di conscienza, et si obligheranno molto uolentieri, etiamdio con giuramento se sarà di mistiere di servire alla Regina et obedirla in temporale in ogni cosa, et insieme de fare quanto con buona conscienza et giustamente possino fare questi sacerdoti, et i loro coniunti in satisfattione della Regina, conforme però à ciò che sarà determinato et ordinato da sua Santità. Onde non ueggo per qual cagione si senti che sendosi la libertà della conscienza nel regno, iui deuo partire, et gli altri restare, se però non fosse, che quelli che hanno di rimanere si trouano di hauere promesso alla Regina più de quello che con bona conscienza si può fare.

54, f. 126.

12. *Ex l'ris Angliæ missis 3a Iunij* 1602

Titulus noui libri contra presbiteros seculares.[a]

Manifestatio summæ stultitiæ, et spiritus maligni quorundam in Anglia qui uocant seipsos sacerdotes seculares, qui excudunt quotidie infames et contumeliosos libros contra uiros dignissimos qui eandem cum illis profitentur religionem, et ex quibus aliqui eorum superiores sunt legitimi ex quorum libellis uarii jampridem examinati et refutati sunt.

Superiorum permissione 1602.

[a] *A manifestation of the great folly and bad spirit of certayne in England calling themselves Secular Priestes. Who set forth dayly most infamous and contumelious libels against worthy men of their own religion and divers of them their lawful Superiors, of which libels sundry are here examined and refuted. By priests lyving in obedience. Superiorum permissu* 1602. By Father Parsons.

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Quæ summatim in libro continentur

Hæc sunt quæ sequuntur.

Præfatio Catholico lectori.

Cap. 1mo manifesta stultitia, et pessimi spiritus eorum qui tales libros composuerunt in electione argum^{ti} talium librorum.

Cap. 2° stultitia, et extrema passio declarata in modo tractan' tale argumentum. Cap. 4° stultitia, et præsumptio spiritus quod tales sibi fecerunt aduersarios. Cap. 5° Stultitia, et spiritus inhonesti quod tam manifestas falsitates, et contradictiones in æstimationis suæ iacturam protulerunt. Cap. 6° Stultitia, et spiritus malignitas quod P. Personio quosdam obijciunt libros qui illum mirifice honestant ab ipso prodierunt cum breui quadam confutatione cuiusdam inepti libelli facti contra librum successionis. Cap. 7° Turpis eorum et delusus spiritus quod sibi persuadeant id sibi honori fore, aut inde ipsi sibi honoris iacturam restitui posse qui ualde apud omne genus hominum (siue amici sunt siue inimici) diminuitur hoc modo procedendi clamoribus atque libellis. Cap. 8° de alijs 5. libris aut potius absurdis et scandalosis libellis qui prodierunt, ex quo duobus primis fuerit responsum, et de alijs decem libris qui sub prælo esse dicuntur. Cap. 9° directiones quædam datæ Catholicis ad discernendam veritatem, et quomodo se gerant in tempore hoc contentionum cum examine plurimorum mendaciorum notissimorum et infamium W. W. in libro suo Quotlibetico. 54, f. 126b.

Liber iste in 4to est, et continet 120 folia.

Quinque alios libros misit in Angliam P. Personius in quibus præter Sacerdotes Appellantes alij 40 uiri Catholici partim Sacerdotes partim nobiles conuitijs onerantur.

D'nus Vuatsonus egerrimè fert quod Romæ à Doctore Cecilio, D'no Musheo, D'no Champneo; Parisijs à Doctore Bagshauo et D'no Bosuuilo; in Anglia à D'no Colingsono et alijs confratribus suis, non sine stomacho et indignatione, quidam qui illi à Jesuitis attribuuntur libri excipiuntur et nigro carbone notantur: cupit à 54, f. 127

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Sanctissimo sibi dari in Gallijs iudicem cui satisfaciat, aut purgatione aut penitentia.

Archipresbiter decreta noua ueteribus addit, censuras indies fulminat, Bullam Pontificis iniquissime declarat; in quo, et authoritatem suam excedit et Canones transgreditur: necesse est ista à Sanct^mo^ declarari, An facultates suæ ad hæc tria se extendant; ad decreta facienda, ad censuras alias quam quæ in literis Institutiuis nominantur infligendas, ad Bullas Suæ Sanctitatis declarandas.

12. *De modo procedendi Sacerdotum qui Appellantes dicuntur: quædam à Jesuita quodam scripta et in Angliam missa, Romæ* 27 *Apr.* 1602 *Stylo nouo.*[a]

Neapoli et Mediolani magna militum collectio et belli apparatus sed quorsum nescitur, iterum tentanda dicitur Hibernia: Dux
54, f. 127b. Feriæ in Siciliam uti Prorex transfretauit; in transitu P. Personium ad Ostiam Tiberinam ad se uocauit, qui adhuc ad nos non redijt. Sacerdotes Appellantes in turbulento suo negotio persistunt, et plura sibi pollicentur quam in fine inuenient. Papa agit cum illis clementèr et paternè ueritus, ne cum uasa sint fragillima, penitus frangantur si alitèr cum illis ageretur; importunè egerunt, cum Papa, ut interea [judicio] eius ab imputatione Scismatis liberarentur sed semper ad Breue reijciuntur et illis imponitur silentium, sicut et alijs, quoad illam attinet controversiam; libros posteriores negant, latinos duos solum agnoscunt, et se vidisse confitentur, Spem pacis,[b] et Exemplar discursuum.[c] Propositiones, quæ in ijs continentur pro hæreticis agnoscunt quod illos d'no Londinensi

[a] The English original of this letter was forwarded by Phelippes to Sir R. Cecil on May 4 (*Cal. S. P.* Dom. Eliz. cclxxxiv.). Other letters, now in the Public Record Office, came from the same source, perhaps designedly, into the hands of the government. Compare Foley's *Records*, vol. i. (Letters of Father Rivers, etc.), and *Jesuits and Seculars*, p. cvii *seq.*

[b] *The Hope of Peace*, by John Bennet.

[c] *Copies of certaine Discourses*, by Champney, Mush, Bishop and Bennet.

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gratos faciet. Si ullo modo Canonicè probari potuerit illos illis libris fuisse consentientes, proculdubio seueram sentirent sententiam, sicut euenire est uerisimile illi qui libros illos composuerit quicunque fuerit.

Rex Franciæ, et aliqui Prelati et personæ principales eius Regni ad Papam scripserunt literas pro ijs commendatitias.

D'nus de Betun, Regis Franciæ in urbe orator, eorum partes mirifice tuetur, quod in causa est cur benignius et humanius à Papa et Cardinalibus tractantur ; dicunt semper VVatsonum dignum esse qui publicè per plateas uirgis cædatur. Vnus ex Appellantibus cum illi a Burghesio VVatsoni libri ostenderentur dixit, **54, f. 128.** Inter 12. Apostolos vnus fuit Judas; prætendunt multa, Archipresbiterum nimirum deponi, et 3. episcopos constitui qui Ecclesiam Angliæ regant. Aliàs ut 6. Archipresbiteri instituantvr, et horum singuli singulos constituant assistentes, et ut 2. sint sindici, qui omnibus præsint, hi autem ut suffragijs eligantur et sint annui. Alia huiusmodi multa commenta habent quæ uiris sapientibus non possunt non esse ridicula, prætereà propositiones eorum procuratoribus Achipr. sunt traditæ ut uideant et respondeant.

Vltro Appellantes dicti libentissimè de unione aliqua et fraterna Compositione audiunt, seque id desiderare significant. Papa ab hoc etiam modo procedendi non abhorret, ut preterea nihil sit actum adhuc.

Ex libris 39 propositiones erroneæ in fide producebantur, aliæ scandalosæ cum forma quadam. Hodie Dñus Musheus conuenit procuratores Archipresbiteri in domo Cardinalis Burghesij, et illis significauit se valde cupere ut res ad Arbitros remitteretur et fraterne inter nos finiretur, se autem libentissimè velle in condemnationem propositionum dictarum subscribere ; dixit preterea se literas accepisse à fratribus suis in Anglia recentes ubi omnes ad unum VVuatsoni libr. condemnarunt, quod ipsum illico Cardinali significauit, et multum in Vuatsonum inuectus est. Romæ 27 April. 1602.

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54, f. 128b. 13. *Oracion hecha a la magestad del Rey Cattolico en el Collegio Yngles de Valladolid.*

It is a singular mercy that the speaker is allowed to express his joy in words, etc.
Yet he is oppressed by the difficulty of dealing with "the most glorious deeds of the Catholic King" in the short space allowed him.
He would wish to say something of "our, or rather your England," and of the sufferings of the Catholics, 54, f. 129. and much of Spain which has received them as a loving mother.
Yet he can say nothing which is not visible at a glance, to the wisdom, and universal knowledge, as well as very happy memory of the king.
As the King

Por singular merced y beneficio tengo el dia de oy, poderosissimo y pijssimo Rey, que quando todos los demas padres, y hermanos compañeros mios, que en este tratto están, testifican solo con los ojos y con el rostro la grande alegria de sus animos, y el gozo de sus coraçones, que de la gratissima presencia de V. M. y Altezas han concebido, á mi entre todos me aya cabido esta dichosa suerte que diga con palabras el contento que el animo regocijado tiene; loqual en grande manera mi alegra, no porque yo pueda hazer este mejor que los demas, sino porque desta manera podré mas commodamente satisfazer al copioso afeto del coraçon, quando los demas detienen con silencio, como forçados, la fuerça con que sale el ardor de sus animos: aunque por otra parte me causa summa difficultad para poder hablar, assi este tiempo en que hablo, como la brevedad de lo que tengo de decir, pues se me manda que sea brevissimo. Porque pregunto, gloriosissimo Monarca, que cosa mas adversa ni incomoda podria ofrecerle al que entra en aquel immenso y grande Campo de los nobilissimos hechos de V.M. al que va passando por su animo para esplicar fuera los immensos titulos de sus alabanças, que la estrechura del tiempo y la brevedad señalada de la oracion, y mucho mas á mi en esta primera entrada que hago á la presencia di V.M., en la qual, callando otras muchas cosas y embolviendolas en silencio, era cierta razon que dixera algo de nuestra Inglaterra ó por mejor decir, no nuestra, sino de V.M., que dixera algunas cosas de nosotros mismos, como de hijos, alumnos, y peregrinos acogidos de su real clemencia, que dixera muchas de España, que como dolcissima madre y tierna ama nos cria: y muchissimas de V.M. y de los infinitos y grandes beneficios que nos ha hecho y haze. Loqual todo como me sea forçoso ó dexarlo ó no hazer mas que tocarlo, no con el decoro que querria, no pudo dexar de parecerme cosa trabajosa quando se me encargó, aunque de otra parte, para dexir verdad, me consolaba mucho el saber quan grande es la prudencia

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de V.M., quan grande su sabiduria, quan grande conocimiento y esperiencia tiene de todas las cosas, y singularmente de las nuestras, quan singular, y felicissima memoria: de suerte que todo lo que yo dixesse destas cosas, y pudiera dezir, lo concibiria V. M. de una sola vista con que nos mirasse y assi provendria con el benévolo assenso de Su benignidad todo lo que yo dixesse, aora fuesse congratulando me, aora dando gracias, aora supplicando algo á V.M. Porque ya señor es sabida de V.M. nuestro estado, sabida nuestra causa, vistas las difficultades, conocido el propósito, oydos los desseos, entendidas las esperanças, no desconocidos los cuydades. Á las quales cosas todas, como V. M. por su singular piedad y real clemencia y liberalidad, tanto ayude y favoresca, no está necessario que contemos estas cosas quanto que con gratos pechos las agradezcamos, que con memoria eterna las tengamos como abraçadas, que con las manos levantadas, con los ojos, con los coraçones, como lo hazemos cada dia las remittamos al cielo donde tendrà V. M. el premio certissimo, y eterna paga de tal beneficio. Porque, si aquel Abdias varon muy temoroso de Dios, como dize la escrittura, tanto se gloriaba, y con razon, hablando con Helias profeta, de aber guardado cien siervos del Señor, persiguiendoles Jezabel, y dandoles la muerte, qué diremos aqui donde todo es muy mas aventajado. Por ventura no te han contado, señor mio, dixo Abdias á Helias, lo que yo hize quando mataba Jezabel los profetas del señor, que escondi cien dellos en cuevas y los sustenté con pan y agua. Pero yo digo: No es ya sabido y celebrado en el mundo universo lo que ha hecho el Rey de las Españas Felippo, quando la Inglesa Jezabel echa los sacerdotes y Católicos de su Reyno quando los persigue y busca para quitarles la vida? que no solo á cien varones sino á muchos centenares a librado de la muerte, ni los à escondido en cuevas, sino que los à recebido publicamente, y puesto en sus ciudades dandoles casas y sustento, no solo de pan y agua, sino honrandissimo, liberalissimo, magnificentissimo? Qué edad, qué siglo, qué memoria de hombres ó qué posteridad podrá jamas de tal hecho

knows their state, the Catholics need do no more than assure him of their gratitude. They commend him to heaven, where he will have an eternal reward.

Obadiah justly gloried 54, f. 129b. how he hid a hundred servants of the Lord when Jezebel cut off the Prophets. The King of Spain has done greater things for the Catholics whom the English Jezebel drives from her realm.

He has saved many hundreds from death, and has put them not in caves, but in houses. Has fed them not on bread and water, but in comfort.

Therefore they will never forget his benefits.

A comparison between

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Philip and Cyrus.

God's promises to Cyrus, whom he made great in order to bring back his people Israel from Babylon.

If God has done this for a Pagan Prince and the seed of Jacob, how much more will he do for so Christian a King as Philip and for the English Catholics!

They hope for restoration to their country by Philip's help.

God has taken Philip by the hand; has subjected

54, f. 130b.

heathen and heretic peoples to him, has revealed to him the secret treasures of the Indies, etc.

Therefore the English Catholics feel sure that God reserves their restoration as a last great achievement for Philip.

olvidarse, y cierto que considerando esto me parece, que veo á aquel piadosissimo Dios, que aviendo echado al pueblo de Israel por sus peccados en el destierro de Babilonia, aplacada su ira, estimó tanto que aquel pueblo bolviesse de aquel destierro à sù patria, que para ello solo se determinó de escoger y levantar à Cyro, Rey poderosissimo, haziendole muchos beneficios y mercedes y prometiendole por el profeta Isaias dozientos annos antes que nasciesse, que assi dize Isaias, Esto dize el señor à mi Christo Cyro Cuya mano diestra he tomado parà que se arrodillen delante del las gentes, y los Reyes se le rindan, iré delante di te y humillaré los gloriosos de la tierra, daréte los Tesoros escondidos descubrirte he los secretos mas cerrados por mi sieruo Jacob y por mi escogido Israel, he te llamado por tu nombre, he te escogido, y tu no me has conocido. Esto dize alli. Pues si por el pueblo de Israel y por bolver la decedencia de Jacob à su patria hizo Dios tan grandes mercedes y beneficios à un Principe gentil que no le conocia, quan grandes seran los merecimientos de V. M. Católico y Religiosissimo Rey, que haze mayores cosas que no Cyro, y las haze movido de piedad, religion, y uirtud. Y si la Inefable bondad de Dios, y su amor, y misericordia, tuvo tanto cuidado de proveer que Cyro fuesse librador de su pueblo, porqué no esperaremos nosotros esto mismo de sù immensa bondad? porqué no pensaremos que nos ha dado a V.M. por Cyro nuestro, que nos restituya y buelva à nuestra patria pará renovar el antiguo culto con que Dios alli solia ser honrado? porque no pensaremos que por esto ha tomado el señor la mano de V.M. para hazer tantas cosas grandes y admirabiles como con ella ha hecho, y que por esto ha subjugado delante di V.M. y de sus gentes tantos pueblos y naciones infideles y hereges, y que por esto ha puesto à sus pios tantos Reyes, ha humillado tantos gloriosos de la tierra y levantado tanto su monarchia, [por] mas que los hereges y los malos ayan bramado, y que por esto ha dado à V.M. los Tesoros escondidos de las Indias, y descubierto los secretos de los otros Reynos por mas apartados qui esten, para que compadeciendose

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desta semilla de Jacob esparcida, destos Catolicos Ingleses, los restituya algun dia à su patria, y acabe en sus dias esta grande impresa, difficil y gloriosa, parà laqual confiamos que la divina providencia le ha llamado y escogido. Y porque en esta palabra he abraçado lo que tenia que dezir, y temo de no aver passado mas adelante de lo que devia con la fuerça y el ardor que me ha hecho hablar, no diré mas : pero esta sola cosa no puedo dexar ni callarla, que estos hermanos compañeros mios, que aqui están, como fideicommisso me encommendaron instantemente con una misma boz, y animo, parà offrecerlo consagrarlo en su nombre á V.M. que pues no puedo en manera alguna agradecer como deven estos beneficios, que de mano de V. M. han recebido ofrecen de ser eternamente agracedidos como pudieren de manera que todo lo que aora son, y seran in algun tempo en esta vida ò en la otra, serveran siempre à V. M. y assi ofrezco aqui en nombre y boz de todos, todo le que podemos, somos, y seremos, ofrezco los animos, ofresco la fuerças, pongo en manos de V.M. todos nuestros conatos, dessios, vidas, y muertes, y no solo de nosotros sino tambien de nuestros padres, amigos, y parentes y de todos los Católicos de Inglaterra, las quales cosas todas, aunque son pequeñas, y parezcan à la grandezza de V.M. no necessarias, pero no es ageno dessa grandezza tener à bien las cosas pequeñas que con grande animo y amor se ofrecen, loqual no dudamos que hará V.M. à quien Dios nuestro señor guarde muchos años para bien nuestro y de toda la República Christiana.

Fearing that in his zeal he may have gone too far, the speaker ends by assuring the King of their eternal gratitude and their prayers.

54, f. 131.

Carta esta está sacada de un libro estampado en Madrid por Pedro Madrigal, 1592, con licencia, intitulado " Relacion de un Sacerdote Yngles escritta à Flandes á otro yngles Católico en la qual le da cuenta de la venida de sù magestad à Valladolid, y al Collegio de los Yngleses y lo que alli se hubo en su recibimiento.

Traducida de yngles, en Castellano, Por Tomas Eclesal Cavallero yngles."[a]

[a] This little book, says Dr. Jessopp, is 'in fact precisely like a modern newspaper report giving a minute account of Philip's reception at the seminary,' when an

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54, f. 131b. The youth who delivered the speech was presented to the King by F. Parsons.

El mancebo que hizo esta oracion era presentado à su magestad del P. Personio con lo demas de sus compañeros, y los puntos que hazen sospechoso todo este negocio destos seminarios de España son los seguientes.

Suspicious points in it.

El premer punto desta oracion, que haze grande danno á las missiones y clérigos enviados de España en Ynglatierra.

First point, that the speaker says "not our but your England."

Callando otras muchas cosas y embolviendolas en silencio era cierta razon que dixera algo de nuestra Inglaterra, ò por mejor decir no nuestra, sino de vuestra magestad.

El segundo punto sacado al piè de la letra de la misma oracion.

Second point: The comparison of Philip to Cyrus. **54**, f. 132

Y por esto Dios ha dado á V.M. los Thesoros escondidos de las Indias, y descubierto los secretos de los otros Reynos por mas apartados que esten, paraque compadeciendose desta semilla de Jacob esparcida, destos hijos de Israël que aqui vee, destos sacerdotes, destos levitas, destos Católicos Yngleses los restituya algun dia à sù patria y acabe en sus dias esta grande empresa difficil y gloriosa para loqual confiemos que la diuina providencia le ha llamado y escogido :[a] y porque en esta palabra he abraçado todo lo que tenia que decir y temo de no aver passado mas adelante de lo que devia con la fuerça y el ardor que me hà hecho hablar no diré mas.

The third point: The final expres-

El Epilogo desta oracion qual es el punto tercero, adonde si ve que destos Collegios de España han otro fin que la Religion sola.

Pero esta sola cosa no puedo dexar ni callarla, que estos hermanos y compañeros mios que aqui están como fideicommisso

elaborate pageant was carried out and orations were delivered in ten languages. (*One Generation of a Norfolk House*, p. 193.)

[a] There is a slight difference between the wording of the annotation here and the text. It does not affect the meaning.

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me encommendaron instantamente con una misma boz y ánimo para ofrecerlo y consagrarlo, en su nombre á V. M. que pues no pueden en manera alguna agradecer como deven estos beneficios que de mano de V. M. han recebido, ofrecen de ser eternamente agradecidos como pudieren de manera que todo lo que agora son y seran en algun tiempo, en esta vida ò en la otra, serviran siempre á V. M. y assi ofrezco los animos, ofrezco las fuerças, pongo en manos de V. M. todos nuestros conatos, desseos, vidas y muertes, y no solo de nosotros, sino tambien de nuestros padres, amigos, y parientes y de todos los Cathólicos de Ynglatierra.

sion of devotion to the King.

All this speech was written by Parsons and published by him in various languages to spur the King of Spain to help the English Catholics, partly by his own forces, partly by vain promises of help from England.

En toda esta oracion (hecha del P. Personio y pronunciada de la bocca de vn mancebito yngles y publicada del dicho Personio in varias lenguas por todo el mondo) no si haze otro que dar espuelas al Rey Católico de seguir la empresa de Ynglatierra parte (reinuestransi) artificiosamente sus fuerças al Rey, y parte con vanas promessas y ofrecimientos de las fuerças de los Católicos Yngleses.

15. *Ex Supplicatione Patris Roberti Suthvvelli Jesuitæ ad Reginam Angliæ anno Dñi 1595 impressa,*[a] *et publicata Jesuitis in Anglia post eius mortem, cuius nomen licet non sit affixum patet tamen ex stilo et manuscripto de quo diù mirifice gloriabantur Jesuitæ, ex fama publica et testibus in Anglia fide dignissimis, ab eo fuisse confectum et ex confessione impressoris qui eam ob causam suspendio fuit affixus,*[b] *à Jesuitis fuisse impressum;* **54, f. 132b.**

'A Humble Supplication to Her Majestie, printed anno 1595,' was written, says Mr. Sidney Lee, in 1591, but probably first issued in 1600. Father Southwell was executed Feb. 21, 1595. Two copies of his *Supplication*, seized by the government, are now in Lambeth; and one is in the British Museum. (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.*) The extracts from the *Supplication* and '*Green Coat*' were handed to the French ambassador for delivery to the pope, on August 22.

[b] James Ducket, bookseller, executed April 19, 1602, was charged with publishing the *Supplication* and having in his possession twenty-five copies of an edition printed early in that year (Pollen, *Acts of English Martyrs*, p. 245).

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verum ne in eos odium nominatim deriuetur satis erit ad Scandala tollenda, quæ Catholicis ex hac impressione sunt exorta, librum ipsum sine authore condemnare.

Fol. 73. Satis justam belli causam dicit fuisse Regi Catolico inuadendi Angliam quod inter cetera opem tulerunt Regi Christianissimo, id temporis inimico Hispaniæ, contra jus et titulum Infantæ filiæ Regis Catolici quod habuit in Britaniam; quod ualde iniuriosum uidetur Regi Christianissimo et Coronæ Franciæ.

Fol. eodem. Neque leuis est iniuria illata Celsitudini tuæ, cum sacratam illam manum tuam à talibus cogitationibus directam quæ
54, f. 133. dedignantur falsitates patronas habere vestrarum actionum uideri uelint authorem huius sententiæ.[a]

Fol. 84. Reginam excusat tanquam persecutionis insciam, et leuissimam, tenerrimam, et inimicam crudelitatis.

Fol. 86. Quod nunquam procedere posse speramus à tam molli et gratioso Judice, sicut est sacrata sua persona, aut sicut es tu ipsa sacrata ibidem; quod est magis incidens in illam mitissimam temperiem excellentissimi animi sui.

Fol. eodem. Accipe igitur (Princeps clementissima) et consule in bonam partem omnia humillima obsequia, et fidelitates nostras quæ cum cogitatonibus fidissimis, et resolutionibus seruicij plenis sunt sine aliqua simulatione desponsata in maiestatis vestræ defensionem.

Fol. 70. Tanquam honoris causa notat P. Personium et laudat, quod non sit nouitius in scientia secretorum et intelligentiarum Principum, quod tamen ipse libenter non confitetur.

Fol. 88. Laudi dat P. Personio quod sit Veteranus in rebus politicis.

Fol. 61. Reginam mira adulatione excusat tanquàm à persecutione abhorrentem.

Fol. 56. Virtutem Reginæ in uita illa quam sibi elegit celibi et innupta laudat.

[a] Something wrongly copied in this sentence.

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Fol. 56. Dicit Papam in sacerdotibus initiandis nec sibi uindicare nec acquirere maiorem in Anglia auctoritatem quam qui Basiliæ aut Geneuæ sunt Pseudoministri in creandis ministris protestantibus.

Fol. 46. Vestra Regalis maiestas semper subijciendo desideria sua virtutis normæ et regalitatem suam moderando magis uoluntate ignoscendi quam potestate interficiendi numquam consensum prebuit tam uilibus et horrendis imposturis. **54**, f. 133b.

Pag^{a} 1ma. Potentissima, misericordiosissima maximèque amanda et timenda Princeps.

2. Bonitas maiestatis vestræ perfecta in omnibus officijs Principe dignis, solaque nostræ iustæ spei anchora sacra.

27. Quem ad finem persuaderemus Catholicis, ut vestræ ma^{ti} debitam obijciant obedientiam; quando nec nobis nec ipsis hoc prodesse queat.

28. Si incorrupta ratio judex constituatur, nunquam pronunciabit infidelitatem sequi posse, ex quocunque nostræ Religionis articulo, quæ sanè religio nos magis astringit quam alios quoscunque ad exactissimam submissionem prestandam Vestræ temporali auctoritati, ad eaque omnia honoris ac fidelitatis obsequia quæ Catholici populi aut nostris suæ aut anteactis temporibus cuiquam Principi Christiano debita agnouerunt et detulerunt.

42. Si illi consiliarium quem, imo si V. M^{tem} sacram, à Regno sustulissent (id quod Dei bonitas hactenus nec permisit nec, ut sperare licet, inposterum permittet) consilia tamen sua ne speciem quidem optati exitus habuissent.

34. Sacrum nomen nostræ nobilissimæ Reginæ tale est, ut proximè post dei uerbum inter firmissima ueritatis testimonia honorandum sit. **54**, f. 134.

59. Obiectum aliquando sacerdotibus fuit, quasi de uita sacræ maiestatis vestræ aliquid moliti essent, quæ res est adeo institutis eorum contraria, atque à cogitationibus suis publicaque utilitate aliena, ut qui rationem in consilium adhibebit, is nulla ratione

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existimabit sacerdotes tam stultos, ut rem non modo tam inutilem prorsus sed etiam penitus odiosam uel cogitarent, multo minus perficerent.

60. Nemini obscurum esse potest quam pernitiosum futurum sit sacerdotibus ac Catholicis vestræ maiestatis protectione destitui.

60. Mors maiestatis vestræ infinitam perturbationem rerum inferret maioremque omnibus calamitatem quam Catholicis consolationis causam, ut nos sacerdotes illam machinari esset non solum impium in patriam, sed etiam in nosmetipsos iniuriosum.

62. Malumus nos vestræ confidere clementiæ, ijsque fauoribus et gratijs quas M^tas Vestra secundum Deum nobis facere maximas potest, quàm in humana quadam in Dei unctos uiolentia pestem patriæ et nobismetipsis incommodum illud quo nihil grauius importare.

62. Quatenus vero obijcitur aliquos nostrum affirmasse: uelle se Papæ exercitus partes tueri contra nostrum Regnum; est sane nullo modo uerisimile nisi ex fragili lingua tormentorum ui prodijsset.

67. Hoc vestræ maiestati firmissimè asseueramus quisquis ille fuerit, uel cuiusque generis exercitus qui contra te uenerit, potius
54, f. 134b. pectora nostra inimicorum gladijs transfodienda obijciemus, quam gladios nostros in patrij sanguinis effusionem conuertemus. Hæc, et similia habet ista supplicatio pag. 23. 30. 26. 66. et alibi. Neque male affectus animus, neque ueritas, sed tortura sola linguam direxit quæ locuta est talia procul dubio fuerunt uerba illa allegata de tuendis partibus exercitus Papæ contra nostrum Regnum si unquam de ore sacerdotis prodierunt aut alitèr ab aliquo imperito laico fuerunt dicta. pag. 66. unde concludit non esse ueram illam propositionem debere sacerdotem Cath. tueri partes exercitus Pontificij contra hereticos.

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16. *Titulus libri.*

Exemplar Epistolæ cuiusdam scriptæ à Mag'ro quodam Artium Cantabrigensi ad Amicum suum Londini agentem de uita, moribus et actionibus Comitis Lecestrensis et amicorum in Anglia.

Quæcunque concepta dicta aut publicata sunt in hoc libro cum protestatione efficacissima bonæ uoluntatis et affectionis obsequij plenissimæ erga ecc^mam^ maiestatem suam et totum Regnum scripta esse intelliguntur quibus solis et vsui et commodo esse possit multis communi. 54, f. 115.

Libellus iste à Catolico conscriptus in hominem hereticum, eo usque heretici personam et laruam induit ut multa in religionem, in ceremonias, in Papam ipsum dicat scandalosa, hæresim sapientia, et ualde ridicula et contemptus plena.

Huius libri auctor publica fama habetur P. Personius, qui personam heretici induens, multa dicit in hominem hereticum uera et in Republica civili castigatione digna, uerum ut hæc liberius promulgaret, multa dicit in preiudicium Religionis Cat^cæ^. et consura ecclesiastica digna.

Argumenta quibus probatur Patrem Personium huius libri auctorem fuisse sunt publica fama, stilus optimè et familiarissime quamplurimis notus, confessio D'ni Careli Arundelij qui se confessus est huic libro subiectum et materiem subministrasse, P. autem Personium methodum, stilum, et formam. Huic accedit Ill^mi^ Car'lis Alani calculus qui, tali asperitate aut supercilio librum talem promulgari, putauit periculosissimum, at priuata quædam obiectorum Licestrensi priuatim mittenda censuit ad hominem mitigandum, uel deterrendum. P. vero Personius contra aliorum mentes libellum hunc in persona heretici conceptum et concinnatum divulgauit.[a]

[a] "The Copie of a Letter wryten by a master of arte of Cambridge to his friend in London concerning some talke past of late between two worshypful and grave men,

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Unde sequuta sunt martyria plus minus 25. Sacerdotum et Catholicorum.

54, f. 135b. Verum de authore non ualde laboramus nec P. Personio tantam inuri Notam desideramus, ut propositiones hæreticas, aut temerarias uideatur (dum nimis artificiosus et subtilis esse studuerit) in vulgus protulisse. Verum cum libellus iste plurima contineat quæ hereticam religionem uel confirmare, vel ornare, uel honestare potuerint, nihilque quod scintillam habeat uiri Catolici, ualde uidetur hisce temporibus expedire, ut libellus iste sine auctoris nomine condemnetur, quod si de auctore ulterius sit agendum tot tractatus et libelli de rebus politicis et de suis gestis et encomijs à P. Personio alieno nomine conscripti, et sibi ipsi aliquando dedicati, suspectum faciunt negotium. Verum si sua Sanc^{tas} de auctore uelit fieri certior, datis ad id in Angliam et Franciam deputatis plus centum prodibunt testes qui ab illo conscriptum et promulgatum esse librum istum probabunt.

Folio 5to. et ubique Catholicos uocat in contemptum Papistas.

Fol. 13. Ita uelim moderari inter nos differentias Religionis, ut status communis patriæ nostræ et benedictum regnum maiestatis suæ et communis causa ueræ religionis in periculum non uocetur.

about the present state, and some procedinges of the Erle of Leycester and his friendis in England," 1584, n.p. It was reprinted under the title of "Leicester's Commonwealth." Quite apart from Parsons' very explicit denial of the authorship (Preface to his *Warnword*, 1602), it is incredible that he should have written it, and the passages here quoted should be alone sufficient to prove this. Mary Stuart, writing to the Archbishop of Glasgow in May 1586, and referring to the book as written "nearly two years ago," declares that Leicester believed it was written by Morgan with the archbishop and Lord Paget; that the earl in consequence "was in the utmost rage against all three," and had procured the imprisonment of Morgan. Turnbull, discussing the question in his Introduction to the *Letters of Mary Stuart*, xvii-xxi), cites the arguments of Dr. Ashton and Dean Mosse in favour of the opinion that the book was "the work of some subtle courtier who for safety got it printed abroad and sent into England under the name of Persons," and quotes a letter from Tierney who considers Ashton's arguments from internal evidence "quite conclusive." But it is significant that the scandalous duplicity and disloyalty towards his church attributed to Parsons, on the supposition that he wrote the book, should have created no difficulty in the minds of the appellants.

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Fol. 15. uocat Lecestrensem ueræ religionis euersorem et inimicum acerrimum, quam protestanticam esse intelligit.

Fol. 20. uocat communionem hereticorum sanctam communionem.

Fol. 22. de Sua Sanc^te^ ridicule admodum loquitur his uerbis, quod ad Papam attinet bene poterit fistulas suas reponere. 51, f. 186.

Fol. 27. uocat Ducem Alensonium moderatum Papistam, et qui uirtute et prudentia Reginæ facillimè ad Euangelium, id est, ad religionem protestantium potuerit trahi; unde Euangelium illud (protestanticum v'lt) per totam Europam potuit disseminari sicut fratres in francia bene considerauerunt et sperauerunt.

Fol. 30. uocat Essexium, hominem hereticum, patronum ueræ Religionis et predicatorum huius sectæ.

Fol. 58. uitio uertit Lecestrensi, quod cum Academiæ Oxoniensis fuerit patronus et Cancellarius, Collegia et Seminaria papistica et Collegia Jesuitarum ex illa Academia exierunt; Thesaurario autem Cecilio laudi ducit quod, ex eius Academia cui profuit prodierunt omnes doctissimi pseudoepiscopi et uerbi predicatores, etc.[a]

Fol. 79. Bayleus et Culpeperus, uterque notus Papista.

Fol. 112. Uetus ille Legalius obstupuit, et illorum more fecit cruces in aere quod nobis risum commouit; in margine, contemptus causa, uocat cruces istas papisticas benedictiones.[b]

[a] "By Leicester's chancellorship of Oxford," says the author, "is cancelled almost all hope of good in that University: and by his protection, it is like soone to come to destruction. . . . it were sufficient to behold the present state of the two Universities whereof they [Leicester and Cecil] are heads and governors. For our owne [Cambridge] I will not say much, lest I might seeme partiall: but let the thing speak for itselfe. Consider the fruit of the Garden, and thereby you may judge of the Gardiner's diligence. Look upon the Bishopricks, Pastorships, and Pulpits of England and see whence principally they have received their furniture for the advancement of the Gospell. And on the contrary side, look upon the Seminaries of Papistry at Rome and Rhems, upon the Colledges of Jesuists, and other Companies of Papists beyond the seas and see where-hence they are, especially, fraught." Edit. 1641, p. 69.

[b] "At these words the old Lawyer stepped back, as somewhat astonied, and began to make Crosses in the ayre, after their fashion, whereat wee laughed." *Margin* "Papisticall blessing" (p. 101).

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Fol. 137. dicit Reginam Scotiæ excludi à Regni titulo, quia inimica fuit religioni huic in Anglia receptæ.

Fol. 151. non uideo neque legis aliquo prescripto, aut praxi horum temporum, diuersitatem religionis posse impedire iustos
54, f. 186b. heredes quominus hereditates sibi debitas possideant in quocunque statu aut genere priuatorum hominum, multo minus in iure regni, quod semper præ ceteris magnum habet priuilegium.

Fol. 158. precedentis propositionis exempla profert Principes Germaniæ Lutheranos, Reginam Elizabetam, Principes Nauarreum et Condeum omnes hereticos.

Fol. 159. Regem Scotiæ laudat et admiratur propter exercitia sua Principe digna, et institutionem suam in uera religione, sub hominibus raris et uirtute ornatis in hunc finem, Joanne nimirum Knoxo et Georgio Bucchanano Archiheretico.

Fol. 160. Educationem, instructionem et conuersationem Regis scotiæ cum ijs qui ueram profitentur Religionem, edicta, actiones, regimen, et priuatos mores laudat, quæ omnia hæresim confirmarunt.

Fol. 161. Aliqui qui ad ministerium Scotiæ pertinent, sed indigni tàm digna uocatione.

Fol. 182. multa arg^ta affert pro toleratione in re religionis, idque a Rege Philippo in Belgia, Francia, Germania factum felicitèr et necessario exemplis probat, quod hodie manibus pedibusque oppugnat.

Multa preterea ad corroborandum titulum Regis Scotiæ ad Regnum Angliæ affert, licet in libro titulorum spe maioris commodi mutauerit sententiam.

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17. 6 *Martij.* 54, f. 1 7.

Petitiones Sacerdotum Anglorum.

1. Vt auctoritate Apostolica decidatur controuersia illa de schismate et inobedientia, quæ tantorum scandalorum et contentionum in Anglia causa extitit.

2. Vt sua sanctitas aliquam ineat rationem de leuanda persecutione in Anglia, quod infinitis Catholicorum lachrymis et lamentis desideratur, à quo magistratus Hereticus hoc tempore non uideri omnino abhorrere.

3. Vt prohibeantur omnes Ecc^ci^ Angli tam religiosi quam seculares ne se rebus politicis ullo modo immisceant, unde ciuilis magistratus grauiorem in Catholicorum persecutionem commoueatur.

4. Vt uarijs Catholicorum necessitatibus spiritualibus prouideatur Constitutione episcoporum uel suffraganeorum in Anglia.

5. Vt Collegijs Romano et Duaceno projiciantur tales de quibus constat impie eos contra statum politicum machinatos esse.

6. Vt omnes tam sacerdotes quam laici teneantur revelare siquid contra statum aut personam Reginæ tentari intellexerint.

18. *Informatio de quibusdam Presbiteris qui nuper Romam ex Anglia uenerunt, ut tam suo quam aliorum quorumdam paucorum nomine Archipresb'ri Institutionem à sua Sanct^te^ mandatam impugnent.* 54, f. 137b.

Reginæ Consiliarios aliosque hereticos Anglicanos multis iam annis, perspecto Religionis Catholicæ augmento mirabilique seminariorum fructu, uijs omnibus huic prouentui suam industriam opposuisse neminem latere possit cui regni illius conditio perspecta est.

Nulla autem illis uia accommodatior faciliorque uisa est, quam per seditiones quorundam hominum qui, cum Catholici haberentur, alieni tamen à disciplina Catholica erant uel minime animo cum eis coniuncti qui res Catholicorum precipuè administrabant,

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cuiusmodi erat Ill^mus Car'lis Alanus dum uiueret, aliqui ei adherentes quos inquietiores isti non mediocritèr exercebant.

Mortuo Card^le optimo ad annum D'ni 1594 Collegij Anglorum de Vrbe res in apertum prorupere tumultum, eo quod per triennium fere magna suæ sanctitatis molestia durauit, eiusdem tamen prudentia atque auctoritate dimissis seditionis ducibus quieuit penitus Collegium, selectissimaque hodie juuentute floret et singulari unione animorum fruitur.

Ex dimissorum [cœtu] tumultuantium nonnulli, cum in Angliam
54, f. 138. peruenissent aliosque ingenij quietioris inuenissent, nouas statim tumultuandi uias excogitare ceperunt, partim ut patres societatis in pace degentes impugnarent, partim ut prefecturas sibi ipsi sine ulla sedis Apostolicæ auctoritate assumerent.

Huius Rei S^mus D. N. multorum ex clero Anglicano literis admonitus, qui id etiam sentiebant, idoneum fore remedium ad emulationem contra partes tollendam uel minuendam saltem pacemque firmandam, si superior[em] ex suo ordine, hoc est ex sacerdotibus secularibus, constitueret. Quibus ille paterne assentiendum duxit, eisque per Ill^mi Car'lis Caëtani Protectoris Angliæ literas Archip'brum D'num Georgium Blackuuellium spectatæ virtutis ac eruditionis virum, re prius cum Ill^mis Sacræ Inquisitionis Cardinalibus consultata, ordinandum iussit.

Hanc Summi Pontificis ordinationem gratissimo animo Catholici omnes, et plusquam trecenti Sacerdotes acceptarunt gratiasque per literas egerunt; pauci uero quidam, vix decem ab initio, quod ambitioni suæ obstructas hac Pontificis ordinatione uias animaduertissent reluctari ceperunt et tumultus per Angliam ciere Anno D'ni 1598.

Et primum quidem exagitare tam uerbis quam scriptis et libellis impressis Cardinalis suarumque literarum fidem. Deinde affirmare palamque asserere non potuisse Pontificem ipsis inuitis Prelatum eis dare, nisi contra Canones ageret, monere Pontificem, quod qui amet periculum peribit in eo: Ac denique terrere
54, f. 138b. Catholicos legibus Regni penalibus ne Archip'bro a Sua Sanc^te

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instituto, sub pena amissionis bonorum ac perpetuo carcere nominis obedientiam deferrent.

Anno D'ni 1599 Sua Sanc^{tas} Breue Apostolicum dedit quo Archipresbiteri institutionem aliaque omnia in literis Ill^{mi} Cardinalis Caëtani contenta confirmauit: quo viso inquieti timore nonnihil perculsi pacem ad aliquot dies simulant: sed inito deinde arctiori cum pseudo Ep'o Londinensi ac Reginæ Consiliarijs commercio, iterum tumultuantur, et ab omni Archipresbiteri auctoritate appellant, nullo interim Romam misso uel procuratore uel exhibita appellationis copia plusquam quindecim omnino mensium spatio.

Interea Sua Sanc^{tas} uisa appellatione per Archipresbiterum transmissa, re penitus deliberata, nullo modo admittendam censuit; sed iterum causam determinat, Archipresbiterum confirmat, lites dirimit, silentium imponit idque per Breue Apostolicum ad decimum septimum Augusti Anno D'ni 1601 editum.

Isti uero uihil curare, imo non expectata Pontificis sententia[a] cum Reginæ Consiliarijs iterum transigere de seditione hac modis omnibus promouenda, presertim uero libellis famosis impressis, quorum iam decem uel undecim ediderunt, omni genere immodestiæ uirulentiæ ac contumeliarum plenos; alia uero decem volumina promittunt quibus infinita tam Catholicis quam hereticis scandala præbentur.

His enim libris non tantum intoleranda conuitia in multos uiros probos conijciuntur, verum etiam impia multa contra fidei Catolicæ dignitatem in hereticorum gratiam ac favorem asseruntur. Verbi gratia, quod Sedes Apostolica sit in Anglia extranea seu forinsica, et ideo per legem Premuniri exclusa; quod summus Pontifex nulla ratione possit Reginam Angliæ quacunque de causa deponere, neque bellum contra eam, uel per se, uel per alios mouere, quod si faceret, uel ipsemet in persona propria contra eam veniret, se fore 54, f. 139.

[a] It must be remembered that this Brief of Aug. 1601 was not promulgated by the archpriest until Jan. 26, 1602, *i.e.* until after Parsons' *Apologie* in reply to the earlier books of the appellan's had appeared, and after the four priests had started on their journey to Rome.

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contra pugnaturos, omnes Catholicos ad hoc ipsum esse obligatos asserunt.

Damnant preterea nominatim Anglicanos martyres quod hoc palàm professi non fuerunt se Reginæ in eo casu fuisse adhæsuros; Damnant Catholicos quod suarum calamitatum causæ iustæ extiterunt, dum Sandero, Alano, Personio alijsque viris Anglis doctrinam contrariam docentibus assensi fuerunt. Reprehendunt nominatim acta summorum Pontificum Pij V^ti^, Gregorij 13 et Sixti V^ti^ quod Reginam excommunicauerunt: Indigna scribunt de S. D. N. Clemente octauo profitentes se revelare uelle si quidquam scirent contra Reginam eiusque statum præsentem tractari, formam materiamque iuramenti cuiusdam impii proponunt, quo iuramento adiguntur se Pontifici aduersaturos si quidquam contra Reginam per vim moliretur. Archipresbiterum summum hipocritam, vsurpatorem, patriæ proditorem passim uocant; Jesuitas deterrimæ inter omnes mortales uitæ ac nequissimos asserunt; pluresque ad Infernum quam ipsos Cacodemones trahere; aliaque similia intolleranda maledicta, quibus omne genus hominum ab eorum auersant commercio ne ipsorum opera iuuentur; aliaque hujusmodi libris eorum impressis continentur quæ coram constituendis à sua sanctitate iudicibus probabuntur. Interim Catholici Anglicani ualde his rebus affliguntur atque scandalizantur, dum istos tanto hereticorum fauore emissos uident.

54, f. 189b.

Quod ad personas eorum attinet qui aduenerunt, etsi palàm ad hoc non se produnt, neque Collegio uel alijs qui suæ factionis non sunt, uidendos se prebeant, quatuor tamen uel quinque modo esse dicuntur, Bagshaus, Cecilius, Musheus, Champeneus, Bluettus, de quibus, etsi quæ dicenda erunt suo loco et tempore asseruantur, hic tantum significandum duximus: priores quatuor in hoc ipso de Vrbe Collegio Anglorum alumnos aliquando tumultuosos extitisse. Et primus quidem, qui alijs ad seditiones dux auctorque fuisse notatur, fuit per Ill^mum^ Car'lem Boncompagnum, qui Collegij Protector esset, ob seditionem olim eiectus; secundus uero Ill^mi^ Car'lis Alani cui aliquando pro Cappellano inseruiuit testimonio

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quod hodie etiam manu sua exaratum extat, causam Catholicorum semel atque iterum Cicilio, Angliæ Thesaurario, cognato suo prodidisse putatur, a cuius filio, qui modo Reginæ à secretis est omniaque gubernat, curatum esse, suspicantur multi quod explorandi causa Romam sit missus.

Postremus uero senex iracundæ naturæ, qui ex ministro olim Caluiniano factus sacerdos, multa scandalosè ex bile contra socios presb'ros in carcere gessit, idque tam uerbis quam pugno, et ex ipsiusmet literis constat eum ualde perfide cum ipsa Regina ac Consil^rijs contra viros multos Cath^cos egisse.[a]

19. *Methodus expeditissima qua possint facillime discerni turbarum et controuersiarum Architecti in Anglia.* 54, f. 140.

Citatus, et iuramenti religione astrictus, P. Personius ad hæc quæ sequuntur capita nudè et apertè sine ambagibus aut ambiguitate ut respondeat magna nos liberabit molestia, fontesque omnes et scaturigines calamitatum et controuersiarum nostrarum ita reddet conspicuas, ut non de morbo, sed de remedio (tali facto examine) Sanctitati V'ræ sit laborandum.

I Cap.

Cum in Angliam à Gregorio 13° Anno 80. fuerit missus, an in mandatis habuerit rebus politicis se immiscere, et quousque in ijs progressus sit, utrum à superioribus uocatus ante finitum biennium Angliam reliquerit, in Gallijs personatus in habitu seculari, extra Collegij sui septa uixerit, Hispaniamque eodem ornatu aduolauerit

[a] Tierney (vol. iii. p. clvii.) gives an analysis of another memorial, which he calls "an extraordinary document," drawn up by Parsons for the information of the pope and cardinals, and entitled "An account of the morals of some of the principal appellants." Charges of unchastity, drunkenness, violence, and treason are there urged against several priests in greater detail and with much asperity. Tierney prints also the text of a "Memorial against the Appellants" from a rough draft in the handwriting of Parsons, presented in the name of the Archpriest's agents, April 1602, dealing mainly with the "ambition," "sedition" and "dissolute lives" of his opponents.

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rebusque politicis totus uacauerit, paratos se reliquisse ad arma Cath. animos egregie simulans, et hoc comento ad Principum aulas et aures sibi muniens viam? an quæ Religionem spectassent negotia et seminariorum cura et sollicitudo non multo melius et decentius in suo habitu suisque monasterijs perfici et pertractari potuissent?

Interrogandus est qua auctoritate Regnum Angliæ quasi venale tot principibus obtulerit, Comiti Darbiensi alijs ad eum missis, alijs destinatis ad eundem nuncijs, Duci Parmensi, Comiti Arundeliæ, et Regi Catholico eiusque filiæ.

Qua auctoritate librum suum de Success^nc^ Comiti Essexiæ dedicauit, eique epistolam nuncupatoriam præfixit.

54, f. 140 Qua auctoritate libros scripserit de iure Regni in genere et de Regni Angliæ Success^nc^, quorum primus regibus et monarchis non potest non esse ingratissimus licet uerissimus, secundus multos Principes et Primarios uiros graui affecit iniuria, omnes Regij sanguinis Principes, preter unicam Philippi Reginam aliqua insigni ignominia notauit, omnes competitores ad arma et uim animaverit.

Qua auctoritate libros uarios meram politiam sapientes in refectorijs legi insserit.

Qua auctoritate alumnos seminariorum titulo Hispaniæ subscribere coëgerit, recusantes uero male mulctauerit.

Qua auctoritate librum quem uocant Reformat^nis^ scripserit, in refectorijs legi mandauerit, cuius summa est ut in Anglia mutentur omnia, leges, consuetudines, iura, census, uictus, Prelatorum hospitalitas, nobilium auctoritas; quæ omnia Tyrannidem uel præcedunt uel sequuntur.

Qua fretus auctoritate libros alios promulgauerit, alios ipse conscripserit, Reginamque Angliæ eosque præcipuè, qui ad clauum Reip^cæ^ sedebant, adeo acritèr et acerbe perstrinxerit, ut inde irritati in Catholicorum cædem et perniciem nouas leges nouaque supplicia inuenirent.

Qua fretus auctoritate apud Regem Catholicum fictis et fucatis

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rationibus et relationibus de Catholicorum paratis animis ad res innouandas de inuadenda et subiuganda Anglia egerit, Catholicos vana spe Hispaniæ classis per multos annos lactauerit, Regemque Catholicum ad uarias expeditiones, non sine magno Regis damno et dispendio, adegerit.

Qua auctoritate libellum famosum in Lecestrensem refertum hæresibus et sermonibus impudicis in persona heretici scripserit, alium etiam in magnum Angliæ Thesaurarium diuulgari curauit, ex quibus nihil aliud commodi sperari potuit quam ut illi animo morem gereret, et maiorem in fratres persequutionem excitaret. 54, f. 141.

Qua auctoritate expeditiones illas duas anni 96. et 97. et illam tertiam anni 1601 Hibernicam tam grauiter et strenuè sollicitauit, Regemque Catholicum quasi inuitum imposturis suis ad illas suscipiendas adegit, sacerdotes insuper et Jesuitas Anglos et Hibernos miserit, cum res militaris nullo modo studiorum uel missionum suarum sit finis.

Qua auctoritate Holtum, Cresuuellum, et Balduuinum in Belgijs et in Hispanijs ad res politicas et Regnorum et diadematum diuisiones tractandas reliquit.

Qua auctoritate Standisseum, Burleum, Fitzarbertum, Rolstunum, dum tumultus Gallici urgerent, tanquam exploratores suos in diuersas Galliæ partes miserit, Regis sumptu et Regis nomine ipsius seruientes uoluntati.

Qua auctoritate ab ipso uel à Cresuuello uel ab utroque fuerit missus Colstonus ad Comitem Essexiæ literas portans, tum ad Reginam tum ad alios eius senatores, officij et affectionis plenissimas, has quidam palàm, clanculum uero ad Comitem alias quæ illum ad regnum capessendum animaret. Hæc sunt quæ communiter in P. Personium obijciuntur, de quibus si se coram iudice iuratus purgauerit magna dabitur Cath^cis omnibus satisfactio, sin minus magna de reliquis omnibus eius actionibus suspitio.

Quod si confessione propria aut prolatis chirographis aut iuratis testibus constiterit P. Personium in his omnibus esse reum, causam esse totius diuisionis, suspecta debent esse pari ratione 54, f. 141b.

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omnia quæ S^ti V'ræ suggerit de creatione Archipr. et de illa forma Regiminis instituenda, quam tanquam in Ecclesia Dei nouam et inauditam ad pacem inter Ecc^los stabiliendam ineptam ægrè admiserunt nonnulli ex precipuis sacerdotibus, quod facile animaduerterant auctoritatem illam nomine tenus penes Archipresbyterum esse, re autem ipsa penes Personium et Jesuitas, ut ipsi sine inuidia artificiose quæ uelint in deprimendis et affligendis illis statuant, qui non sine patriæ periculo et animarum dispendio, ferro et flamma, et externo milite rem geri, et plantari posse fidem, liberè profitentur et demonstrant: uirtute uero, humilitate, patientia, morte, et plantari et rigari et renouari ad fidem Regna, et solere et debere predicant, neque dari posse exemplum ubi armis restituta fuerit religio.

Huc igitur redeunt omnia Sanct^me P. ut qui Apostolico more, sine vi, sine strepitu, sine tumultu, pacifice, patientèr, et modestè conuersionem Angliæ et animarum messem tractari voluerunt, quique hisce tam uiolentis motibus et conatibus P. Personij ubiuis restiterunt pro factiosis habiti sint, fide et auctoritate apud exteros Principes exuti, et causæ publicæ et conuersioni Angliæ inimici sint habiti; cum in confesso sit, et persecut^ni pabulum et animarum conuersioni impedimentum, et factionibus, et dissensionibus fomentum has Personij technas et tragedias præbuisse.

54, f. 142. 20. *Oratio exhibita S^mo pro Rebus Catholicorum in Anglia.*[a]

Cum nihil sit quod Sanct^ti V'ræ gratiùs aut optatius possit euenire quam quæ pro Catholicorum Anglorum salute pace et consolatione dicta, facta, et constituta sunt cum totum Ecclesiæ Angl^nse corpus partesque singulas paterno affectu tenerrimè prosequaris, speramus fore aures illas sanctiss^as et purgat^mas quæ hereticis, schismaticis, sicarijs, et sacrilegis pro illorum salute plerumque patent, filiorum suorum lachrymis et lamentis non posse occludi, petimus ergo, ut uera narrantibus et iusta postulantibus, non inimicorum

[a] Presented by Cecil at his audience of the pope, 17 or 19 June.

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potentia et auctoritas, non subornatus multorum clamor et strepitus, non chirographorum numerus, et catalogus (quæ aduersarijs nostris in promptu sunt omnia) plus ponderis et momenti habeant ad animum Sanc^tis^ suæ alienandum quam ueritas, ratio, innocentia, iustitia, testes ad fidem, ad gratiam, ad compassionem. Pro factiosis et seditiosis habentur omnes publica uoce, ingeminatis literis, continuis clamoribus, qui in Catholicorum causis, et controuersijs, non solum quæ interiorem hominem spectant, sed etiam quæ de politia et temporali rerum statu aguntur, P. Personij sensum et captum non cum applausu approbant, et conatus et cogitata eius (seditionis, et sceleris pleniss^mas^) de reducenda ad fidem Anglia non amplexantur et admittunt, et hinc nostræ lachrimæ, P. S^te^, hinc fundi nostri calamitas; non enim quam sanctè quam piè quam pudicè quis uixerit, quam doctè quam eruditè se gesserit, quàm strenue et grauiter pro fide certauerit, quot uincula, quot carceres, quot opprobria pro Xp'o sustinuerit hoc agitur, sed quarum sit partium, quàm morigerus, quam benè affectus in eum quem opinionis errore sibi finxit Personius Principatum. Ulcus est hoc et tactu durum et difficile, at necessarium tamen ut uel ferro uel unguento sanetur. 54, f. 142b.

Si uis igitur pacem in Anglia, B^me^ Pater, si cupis à Catholicorum iugulis gladium et ceruicibus securim repellere, si uis saluam et sartam tectam religionem tueri, declaratio facta de innocentia sacerdotum publico aliquo instrumento est munienda, ut obstruatur os loquentium iniqua; non solum persona Archipresbyteri sed illa ipsa auctoritas et subordinatio tàm odiosa tàm suspecta, tàm inuisa Principibus nostris, tam grauis et onerosa fratribus nostris, amouenda est et antiquanda; amouendi sunt et segregandi prorsus à castris et congressibus nostris Jesuitæ, prohibendi omnes ne rebus se politicis immisceant, ne magistratus animos exulcerent; cum Rege denique Christianissimo agendum est ut pro Catholicorum leuandis pressuris et miserijs apud Reginam intercedat. Denique humillimè petimus, ut Cardinalibus dies statuatur certus in quo de nobis nostrisque negotijs aliquid concludant; et hæc sunt præcipua

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illa malorum et morborum nostrorum capita quæ moram nullam patiuntur sine graui totius corporis ruina. Cetera uero quæ radices ipsas et fontes malorum nostrorum aperient S. V. separatim in relatione seu informatione ista exhibemus.

Resp. [S^mi].

Vt liberè dicam, nescio quid dicam de istis uestris chimeris de
54, f. 143. libertate conscientiæ; omnia uestra huc tendunt ut Personium accusetis et excusetis illos qui modo ita bene apud nos intendunt. Verum quod ad innocentiam uestram attinet erit uobis authentice satisfactum. Quod ad Archpr. et subordinationem attinet faciemus iustitiam, Jesuitas à Regiminis vestri sollicitudinè excludemus; quod ad sequentia capita attinet, cum res sint maximi momenti, post maturam deliberationem faciemus id quod pro Religionis propagatione iudicauerimus maxime expedire. Cardinalibus diem martis hora 22. post meridiem assignabimus: et preterea, si quid (quod uereor) uobis deerit, ad uitæ et uictus commoda prouidebimus.

Replicatio D. C[ecilii].

Quam male audiat apud infinitos recti et simplicis cordis Catholicos P. Personius, quam eius sunt suspecta et odiosa molimina Principibus multis Catt^cis, quousque vestro nomine et auctoritate sit abusus, quantas in Anglia excitauerit turbas, non est quod uerbis nostris aut accusationibus dari fidem postulemus; ex scriptis nostris quæ S.V. nostro nomine exhibebit Ecc^mus Galliæ legatus S.V. facile iudicabit quæ fuerint P. Personij in patriam in Principem in Ecclesiam et fratres nostros officia: quod ad libertatem conscientiæ attinet, nihil à Regina nostra petimus aut peti desideramus, nihil uicissim promittimus nec in nos suscipimus nisi quod Justinus martir, Tertullianus, et alij Patres Imperatoribus in primatiua Ecclesia petierunt et promiserunt, nisi quod Ill^mus Alanus bonæ memoriæ in sua Apologia seminariorum petijt et pollicetur, neque
54, f. 143b. alios habet inimicos istiusmodi pacifica inter Christianos in re Religionis compositio pretèr puritanos inter hereticos et Jesuitas

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inter Cattolicos, qui prætextu zeli et pietatis statum politicum ubique perturbant, et ad democratiam omnia trahunt ut ipsi interim omnia regant.

Responsum S^mi.

Videbimus quid de his dicat orator Christianissimi, et faciemus quicquid Catholicis prodesse iudicabimus sine religionis aut sedis huius preiudicio.

21. *Vna Nota per il p're Holto e tali confidenti amici à gli quali lui trouerà buono de communicarla.*[a]

Le cause principali di questo mio viaggio sono de assettarsi con sua Santità et il P're generale tutti tali punti che si uederanno necessarij per il sostento degli seminarij de Spagna, Fiandra et Italia, et de gli missionarij de la società in Inghilt^a, et però tutto quello che si presenterà a uoi intorno à quelli punti, cioè delle facultà, gouerno, priuilegij, e sostento, ò cose simili, io ui pregho et gli altri amici, di auuisarmi con tutta la breuità possibile, perche l' intentione mia è de procurare che io no mene resti in Italia seno il manco che sia possibile io hò promesso in Spagna, et per diuersi ragioni serà molto necessario.

S' io posso ancora far' qualche opera bona nel co'porsi et accordarsi le con'uersie del Sem^rio Inglese Romano, et delle differenze trà gl' altri della nat^ne n'ra altroue, farò il meglio che posso, al manco spero di far' intendere à S.S^tà et all' altre persone principali, il fundamento et le uere cause di queste controuersie. 54, f. 144.

Intorno alle cose del stato d' Inghilt^a io intendo de mostrare al Papa come se ne stanno, e quanto sia necessario che sua S^tà si ne

[a] Tierney printed another abstract of this letter, dated correctly *March* 15, from the Italian in Parsons' own handwriting; and Plowden published an English translation in his *Berington's Pansani*, p. 350. Parsons himself printed a great part of it in English in his *Manifestation*, prudently omitting here, however, the passage about the Infanta. Tierney remarks that in the following July Parsons wrote to Juan d'Idiaquez that he had had an audience of the Pope, who "appeared as warm in the cause of the Infanta as could be desired" (iii. lvii–lix).

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pensa da uero di quel neg° con breuità affin che dopò la morte della Reg^a^ d' Inghilt^a^ non sene uenga à mani, peggiori gli pericoli, e danni inevitabili che seguiteranno si qualche si uoglia Principe heretico preuale: Che gli Cattolici Inglesi desiderano solamente un Catt^co^ Rè senza rispetto che sia Inglese, Scozzeze, ò Spagnolo; il che in questo dipende principalmente di sua Santità, che il Padre Personio no è inimico del Rè di Scotia ò agente per il Rè di Spagna come alcuni hanno informati, mostrando per il primo gli buoni officij che il P're Personio hà fatto per il Rè di Scotia per molti anni mentre che si era speranza che diuentasse Cattholico.

Et per il secondo mostrando per il testimonio del Nuntio de Madrid (il quale hà scritto efficacemente à questo fine) che il P. Personio ha tuttauia persuaso al Rè, et à gli ministri suoi, che nò conuiene che sua Ma^tà^ pretende Inghilt^a^ per lui, et che il P. Personio hà impetrato del Rè di Spagna una promessa absoluta de cio fare intorno à quel punto, il Nuntio hà visto gli discorsi, et è stato fatto consapeuole delle Conferenze et ragionamenti che il P. Personio hà fatto de giorno in giorno à quel fine.

In fine questa deue ser la conclusione che la sola strada è, che S. S^tà^ s' accordasse con il Rè di Spagna de qualche compositione ragioneuole per qualche persona che serà capabile, e che starà bene,
54, *f.* 144b. per Sua Sanc^tà^, sua Maestà Catt^ca^, Inglesi, e Scozzezi, il Rè di Nauarra, denemarca e tutti gli altri. Ma che sarà questa persona ò persone l' intentione del Padre Personio è di lasciar' à pensare à S. S^tà^ e de rompere la testa sua per qualche tempo.

Però al parere mio no sene troua altra composítione più profitabile, probabile, et factibile, che la Infanta con il Principe Cardinale,[a] mà si uoi altri gli buoni amici nostri siate di un' altro parere, e possiate proporne gli mezzi, di gracia mettete gli per iscritto, perche mi rallegrerò de sentirne et accommodarmi à uoi altri ancora; perche in quest' altro uoglio andar pianpiano fin tanto che habbia uostra risposta, et ricordarsi che in questo non si hà da mirare solamente quello che sia conforme à i nostri desiderij et appetiti,

[a] Parsons' own copy underlines "*signora infanta maritata al principe cardinale.*"

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mà quelle trè conditioni inanzi specificate de profitto, probabilità, et factibilità, tanto de preualersi e guadagnar, quanto di defendere, sentare, e continuarsi dipoi, et questo è tutto quello che in questo punto io posso dire, et anzi basciando di cuore gli mani a tutti, ui dico àdio, desiderando in questi negotij tutta la secretezza possibile come uedete che sia necessaria: Il n'ro S^{or} Jesus resti sempre con voi altri. di Genoua à gli 15. di maggio [*sic*] 1597.

Vostro sempre, la mano del quale conoscete.

Has esse P'ris Personij literas dum ex Hispania Romam uenit et [jam eas] propria sua manu conscriptas habemus in Vrbe tres uiros fidedignos qui confirmabunt tanquam oculati testes. 54, f. 145.

2°. Habemus Prototypon in Gallijs manu sua propria conscriptum.

3°. Argumento sunt illum hoc animo Romam uenisse anno 1597. et hec in itinere scripsisse, liber quem de Successione scripsit cuius conclusio eadem est quæ harum literarum pro Infantæ cum Cardinale [matrimonio], subscriptiones quas ab alumnis collegiorum in hunc finem exegit; instructiones quas sacerdotibus in Angliam missis sibique confidentibus de Infantæ titulo promouendo dedit, vnde merito suspecta possunt esse omnia quæ de Archipresb'ro promouendo et defendendo tam acritèr hactenus egit tanquam qui abuti uoluerit Pont^{cis} pijssima intentione ad factionem hispanicam in Anglia stabiliendam.

In his literis Patris Personij multa sunt notatu digna; illud uero precipuè examinandum censemus: quod olim hanc esse uiam statuit ad conuertendam Angliam, nimirum ut sua Sanc^{tas} cum Rege Catt^{co} conueniat de compositione aliqua facienda cum successore aliquo idoneo qui æque gratus uideatur Pontifici, Regi Cattolico, Anglis et Scotis Catholicis, Regi Nauarræ, Danemarcæ, et reliquis omnibus.

Hanc autem personam esse Infantam cum Cardinale tàm hìc quàm in libro suo de Successione concludit proptèr utilitatem, probabilitatem et factibilitatem, ut ipsius uerbis utamur.

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Et primo notandum est Suæ Sanctitati magnam factam esse iniuriam quod biennio post absolutionem datam Regi Christ^mo^ dedignatur nomen Regis Galliæ, sed Nauarræ solum in contemp-
54, f. 145b. tum, ut prius solebat, quod ipsum in Anglia alius Jesuita, qui nihil preterquamquod Patri Personio placuerit loqui audet, apertius promulgauit, hereticum eum et peiorem heretico appellans, Papamque in eius absolutione male fuisse informatum et a Theologo suo delusum affirmans, cuius rei testes habemus sacerdotes suos; et quorsum hæc tendant et unde motus hæc dixerit relinquimus judicio Ill^mae^ D. V.

De Vtilitate.

Mirum est Infantam et Cardinalem qui in Belgia à Regni Prouincijs et Principibus aluntur, qui sumptus belli non possunt sustinere nisi continuis exactionibus, impositionibus et contributionibus populi, quomodo possint Regno Angliæ tantum afferre commoditatis ut utilius nihil excogitari possit.

De Probabilitate.

Non est probabile Infantam quæ patrimonium suum in Belgia uix potest à turba quadam rebelli et factiosa subditorum suorum defendere posse illud regnum alienum subiugare, tot externis, et internis competitoribus emulis et inimicis undique imminentibus.

De Factibilitate.

Nisi externo et alieno milite rem agat Infanta in Anglia, nisi
54, f. 146. post prostratos inimicos, non est quod de Catholicorum presumat aut potentia aut beneuolentia qui nec adeo sunt potentes, ut solet male informare Pater Personius, nec tàm benè affectí in Hispanos ut uelint pro eis periclitari.

Sunt enim in Anglia professi notique ut Catholici 30,000. plus minus, et ex eis pars maior feminarum, puerorum, seruulorum, pauci admodum primarij viri, ex nobilitate uix duo paría, et hi non omnes in Hispaniam affecti.

Solet autem Pater Personius fortassis numerum Catholicorum ad 10,000 [100,000?] extendere, affectionem, et zelum in His-

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paniam predicare, suoque nutu et arbitratu regi, ut maiorem habeat cum sua sanctitate et rege Cattolico auctoritatem, fictis et simulatis literis et relationibus insinuare.

Cum in Anglia Infanta semper hereticos habebit infestissimos, et Catholicos paucos et tepidos, et à tergo Regem Scotiæ qui ius suum uindicare conabitur, et à fronte Regem Christianissimum qui nullo modo uicinitatem illam ferre persuaderi potest, et à latere Hollandos et Danos mari potentissimos, et nulli[bi] amicos aut confederatos aliquos, nisi quos pecuniæ vi ex remotissimis regionibus uocauerit, nescio quid in mentem uenerit cordatis Principibus tàm uana spe huc usque decipi, et de medio tàm impossibili tanquam de solo et unico Angliæ medicamento cogitare.

22. *Vera breuisque Declaratio Status et Conditionis Catholicorum in Anglia ab anno Dñi 1587 vsque ad hodiernum diem.* **54**, f. 146b.

1mo In tota Insula nulla est Ecclesia, nullum sacellum, locus nullus ubi Catholici aut publicè aut priuatim possint aut sacro interesse aut alia frequentare sacramenta ad salutem animarum necessaria.

2°. Qui hereticorum conciones et conuenticula frequentare recusent, singulis annis 660. aureos fisco persoluunt, quod si non sint soluendo, in carceres conijciuntur.

3°. Pena Capitis est Ecclesiæ Romanæ reconciliari, peccata confiteri, à peccatis absolui.

4°. Pena Capitis est sacerdotem hospitio recipere, auxilio, consilio, aut re iuuare.

5°. Pena Capitis est sacerdotem, si cognoueris, illico magistratui non manifestare.

6°. Nemo est alicuius notæ Catolicus quin in Custodia aliqua teneatur, hi in arctiori, illi in laxiori.

7°. Nemo Catholicorum aut arma domi habere aut officio in republica frui potest.

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8°. Nemo ad gradus promoueri, aut beneficio [uti] potest.

54, f. 147. Ab hoc seruitutis iugo liberari posse Cattolicos putant nonnulli, idque zelo ut putant bono, armorum ui et Principum potentia, idque per multos annos continuos successibus non ita felicibus pertentarunt alijsque omnibus qui de medijs alijs magis pacificis cogitant, omnem fidem et authoritatem detrahunt; idque agunt sedulo ut omnis illis aditus ad eorum aures quibus incumbit hisce rebus prouidere intercludatur.

P^mo^ Igitur illud sedulo docent et inculcant nullam aliam spem, nullam salutem reliquam esse Catt^cis^, nisi quam in Catholici Regis potentia et beneuolentia sitam predicant.

2^do^ Spargunt rumores, et infames, suspectos et inuisos reddunt ubique omnes qui alitèr de causa communi iuuanda sentiunt.

Propositum itaque nostrum est sine ulla Catt^ci^ Regis iniuria S^ti^ Suæ ostendere primo non esse abbreuiatam manum D'ni, mediaque alia posse inueniri quibus fides Catt^cs^ promoueri poterit sine tanta sanguinis effusione.

3^io^ Media illa quæ hactenus per arma tentata fuerint plus Catt^cis^ obfuisse quam profuisse; quarum rationum capita Regis Christ^mi^ orator S. V. uel uerbo uel scriptis exhibebit.

54, f. 147b. 23. *Considerationes quædam S^mo^ proponendæ pro Pace Stabilienda in Ecclesia Anglicana.*

Post examen grauissimum eorum quæ exhibuimus contra modum procedendi Archipresbiteri, et incommodorum ipsius Subordinationis, fratres nostri iudicio et considerat^ni^ S^mi^ relinquunt, vtrum ordinaria Episcoporum Hierarchia afflictissimis rebus nostris magis conueniat; minusque in se incommodi et periculi habeat quam ista de quo modo agitur Prelatura.

1. Verum cum tanti negotii momentum non poterit sine iusto examine, longo tempore, et debita omnium circumstantiarum trutina concludi, ut paci et tranquillitati interìm prouideatur, faceret proculdubio Sua Sanctitas iudicio nostro rem omnibus gratissimam,

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si in Regione tàm ampla et Provincijs distincta duos instituerent syndicos, seu uisitatores, unum in parte Boreali, et in Australi alterum, ad quos in rebus dubijs fiat recursus et appellandi libertas, ne ad Romanam Curiam in tantis rerum difficultatibus pro dirimendis singulis controversijs cogantur refugere.

2. Deinde ut quinque aut sex Archipb'ri in Regno Angliæ instituantur, duo in parte Boreali, et Meridionali tres, sextus in Vvallia et confinibus, atque his singulis adiungant duo Assistentes. Horum autem [scilicet] auctoritas quousque se extendat si sua Sanctitas declarare dignetur (ut singuli intelligant in quibus obedire teneantur) ad pacis et concordiæ perpetuitatem multum 54, f. 148. afferret adiumenti.

3. Nominatis Sanct^mo^ uiginti ex senioribus et doctioribus sacerdotibus, qui nec uoto nec proposito sint Religiosi regulares, uel a [seculari] clero in Anglia, uel à Procuratoribus utriusque partis qui modo in urbe sunt, ab his decem, ab illis alijs decem, poterit omnium applausu sua Sanctitas octo eligere qui, modo quo diximus, Catholicis omnibus in Anglia præficiantur, donec de ord[inatione] Ecclesiæ quam temporibus nostris magis conuenire putamus [matur]ius fuerit deliberatum.

4. Hoc autem et Patribus Societatis perhonorificum et ad inuidiam declinandam et ad conciliandam beneuolentiam peropportunum, et denique ad omnes contentionum et æmulationum radices extirpandas necessarium foret existimamus, si P'res Societatis præcipuè Angli, directè aut indirectè uerbo uel scripto, Secularium Sacerdotum negotijs se immiscere prohibeantur, talibusque electionibus, nec consilio nec auxilio, clàm nec palàm, domi nec foris ullo modo se implicare.

5. Prouinciarum etiam distinctio pari modo poterit fieri ab Ill^mis^ Car'libus à sua Sanctitate deputatis in hoc opus, consultis prius utriusque partis procuratoribus.

6. Videtur etiam (saluo meliori iudicio) conueniens ut auctoritas omnis dicta sit annalis aut ad summum triennalis, deinde alij per 54, f. 148b. sacerdotes earumdem prouinciarum eligantur in quibus ipsos

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presidere oportet nisi forsan ijdem Sacerdotes [in talibus personis] continuandam duxerint auctoritatem.

7. Conuenire etiam uidetur ut neminem de crimine aliquo, nisi prius citatum et legitime conuictum, condemnent.

8. Deinde ut nulli habeant potestatem reuocandi à quoquam Sacerdote facultates (quæ illi . . .)[a] sed solum eas suspendendi, nisi ex culpa grauissima . . . magnum aliquod oriatur scandalum, et reus incorrigibilis inueniatur. Causa autem integra ad uisitatorem deferatur qui, cum duobus Archipresb'ris re communicata, faciat quod pro bono communi maior pars magis expedire in D'no iudicauerit.

9. Nec à residentijs remouendi sacerdotes sit illis liberum nisi grauiss[a] de causa legitimè discussa et probata, quod et fiat quantum fieri potest cum consensu Catholicorum Dominorum à quibus sunt remouendi.

x. Ad uisitatores fiant appellationes ubi inter Archipresbiterum et suos sacerdotes aliqua intercedit controuersia, penes quos erit admouere, dirigere, et corrigere ipsos Archipresbiteros, suspendendo eorum auctoritatem si quando ab ijs erratum fuerit, et si se judicio Superiorum noluerint submittere, ipsorum etiam erit inter Archipb'ros ullo modo inter se dissidentes lites componere.[b]

Segond cahier faict a Rome le 4 nouẽbre 1602.

54, *f.* *158.*

xi. Conueniat ut leges nemo ferat aut promulget decreta, quæ in conscientia obligent, nisi communi Archib'rum et sacerdotum illi subditorum maioris partis consensu, præsidente visitatore illius Prouinciæ; sic autem conditæ leges, prius confirmentur à sede Apostolica qua uim obligandi habeant.

xij. Solet ex piorum eleemosinis sacerdotum et laicorum in Anglia incarceratorum, et qui extra carceres fuerunt necessitatibus . . . satisfieri: solet tanta copia ex superfluis per annos singulos transmitti in partes transmarinas quæ sufficeret ad

[a] The MS. torn.

[b] Folio 148 is much damaged and discoloured on both sides. Folio *158*, which comes immediately after, has also suffered. The marginal note, *Segond Cahier*, etc., is in the same hand as that on folio 112b (*supra*, p. 65).

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nutriendos 140 et amplius alumnos in Collegio Rhemensi, relictis 60 qui ex pensione summi Pontificis et Regis Hispaniæ nutrirentur. At uero ex quo Jesuitæ quidam in Anglia cum Archipresbitero rerum administratione potiti sunt, licet ampliores quam olim a Catholicis donatæ fuerint eleemosinæ (nàm prèter munitiones omnes et secretiores contributiones quadriennio hoc proximè elapso quadraginta uel quinquaginta millia aureorum per summas integras in ipsorum potestatem sciuntur distribuenda deuenisse) cum hæ omnes disparuerunt prorsus, cum maxima hominum admiratione et scandalo, incarcerati et pauperes Catholici grauissima rerum inopia laborarunt, et Collegium illud antea celeberrinum nunc in eas redactum est angustias ut, extrusis prelectoribus, 54, f. 158b. quadraginta tantum Alumnorum egenissimorum seminarium relinquatur. Cum igitur de eleemosinarum distributione grauissimæ sepenumero ortæ sunt lites, eoque nomine Patres Societatis in Anglia pessimè audierunt, uisitatoribus cura et specialis sollicitudo incumbat incarceratorum et pauperum Catholicorum omnium. Et propterea omnes tam Religiosi quam Archipresbiteri teneantur eis rationes reddere eleemosinarum collectarum acceptarum in pios usus, ut omnibus, prout eorum [necess]itas postulauerit, prouideatur. Archipresbiteri autem et visitatores, qui in Prouincijs opulentioribus ubi largiores eleemosinæ dantur residebunt, teneantur, quantum commodè fieri poterit, subuenire necessitatibus eorum Catholicorum qui in locis egentioribus uictitant.

xiij. Conuenit preterea ut omnes sacerdotes Archipresb'ro suo, Archipresb'ri visitatoribus, visitatores cum ab officio recedant suis successoribus rationem reddant eleemosinarum et collectarum in pios vsus acceptarum, ut prouideatur singulis et malarum suspitionum et querelarum occasiones tollantur. In quibus tamen uoluntas Datoris, quantum fieri poterit, obseruetur.

xiv. Omnes sacerdotes quamdiu in aliena prouincia manebunt Archipresbitero eiusdem Provinciæ subiecti censebuntur. Si autem quis ad declinandum Archipresbiterum suum in causa aliqua ad alienam prouinciam se confert, cognitio eius causæ et

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54, . 159. sententia non ad alios quam ad suum Archipresbiterum et visitatorem spectabit, et ipse ad superiores suos redire omnibus modis cogatur. Quod similiter observandum putamus in Archipresbiteris respectu visitatorum suorum.

24. *Responsum ad Considerationes quasdam à presbiteris appellantibus S^mo D. N. propositas pro Pace Stabilienda in Eccl. Anglicana.*

Cum alio iam scripto, separatim Ill^mis DD. VV. exhibito,[a] ostenderimus qualemcunque tandem presentis Regiminis ac Subordinationis mutationem grauissimis incommodis periculisque obnoxiam esse: hoc iam scripto hanc ab istis excogitatam propositamque noui regiminis ecclesiastici formam omnium maxima habere incommoda ostensuri sumus. Si enim res tota accurate perpendatur, facile apparebit illam quemadmodum precipua quadam ambitione ab initio ortum habuit, ita eandem semper esse futuram inquietudinis deinde perpetuæ ac maximæ causam, contentiones interminatas ac litigia proseminaturam, presbiterorum mentes ab animarum cura ad alia auocaturam, eorumdem corpora personasque plurimis periculis ac hereticorum insidijs expositurum, in causam futuram, ut cessent nobilium laicorum eleemosynæ à
54, f. 159b. quibus suppeditari deberent quæ sunt ad uictum uitamque necessaria; denique multa in se continere, non modo absurda, sed considerato rerum nostrarum presente statu in praxi planè impossibilia.

Hæc ubi ostenderimus facili uidebunt Ill^mae DD. VV. quam sit futurum ab auctoritate ac Sedis Apostolicæ maiestate alienum si quæ iam sunt præclarè constituta ac breuibus apostolicis confirmata, ea ad paucorum [im]portunitatem conuellantur ac dissipentur, præsertim . . . hac presenti subordinatione ex quorumdam hominum turbatione nata sunt incommoda, ea facilè sit una uel altera à Sanct^mo facta declaratione penitus de medio tollere, ut alio iam scripto ostensum est. Atque ut de singulis pauca dicamus.

[a] Perhaps the Memorial, of which a long extract is printed by Tierney, iii. p. clxxii. Cf. also p. clxxiv.

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P^m. ad ambitionem quod attinet non multum de ea dubitauerit, qui mente recolat hanc ferè illam ipsam esse regiminis formam quam sibi prius inconsulta sede apostolica animo designarunt hi ipsi inquieti, sub nomine associationis cuiusdam, qua contra monitum Apostoli sumere sibi uoluerunt honorem minimè à Deo vocati tanquam Aaron, contrà quam extant multorum presbiterorum precipuorum literæ quas memorat liber eorumdem Apologeticus S. S^ti inscriptus. Pretereà quorsum queso spectant tot Syndici, Archipresbiteri, Assistentes alijque officiales, ac eorumdem tàm frequens singulis aut alternis annis idque per electiones habenda uicissitudo, quam ut presbiterorum animi, qui hoc persecutionis tempore per humilitatem ac obedientiam rerumque humanarum contemptum essent maxime consolidandi ac ad omnem virtutem affirmandi, uanissimo hoc planeque puerili magistratus gerendi ambitu virtutibus uacui in superbiam ac omnimodam diffluant vanitatem ? 1° De ambitionis incommodo. 54, f. 160.

Ex eisdem etiam electionibus, congressionibus, suffragijs, sollicitationibus, visitationibus, appellationibus, frequentibus causarum examinibus, canonicis probationibus, quanta sequutura est animorum corporumque inquietudo, quot itinera, quantæ impensæ, quibus sane uix erunt satis vniuersæ illæ eleemosinæ quas tot modis ab hereticis hodie expilati suppeditare poterunt Catolici ! 2° Turbatio, ac Inquietatio.

Porrò quid aliud erunt hec omnia quam fertilis quædam seges atque continua discordiarum inter se et cum alijs fomenta, in quas videntur isti adeo propensi ut cum articulo 4^to profiteantur se nihil quicquam cum patribus societatis habere, articulo tamen 12° non dubitant eos ad rationem reddendam de pecunijs ac eleemosynis acceptis uocare, quod tamen tàm de illis quam de alijs factum fore impossibile infra statìm ostendetur. 3° Lites ac discordiæ.

Iam uero si ea omnia ac singula quæ hucusque dicta sunt accuratè, uti reipsa geri atque administrari necesse erit, omnesque circumstantiæ perpendantur; quis quæso locus erit non modo proximorum curandis animabus sed suis etiam proprijs, uti par erit, diuturnis ac quietis meditationibus alijsque pietatis exercitijs excolendis, ac ad opprobria pro Xp'o tormenta carceres mortemque 4° Distractiones perpetuæ ab animarum curis. 54, f. 160b.

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ipsam oppetendam preparandis, cum tot alijs rebus ac cogitationibus implicabuntur ?

5° De Periculo detectionis, et comprehensionis.

De periculis, ac persecutorum insidijs quid attinet dicere ? cum in tam frequentibus faciendis congressionibus unius falsi fratris opera, quorum magna est copia, atque incredibilis hereticorum uigilantia qui ad hoc ipsum omni loco sedulò obseruandum ac inuestigandum magistratus iam particulares atque exploratores designarunt, prodentur facillimè uno ferè die plerique plurium provinciarum presbiteri : quod quamuis isti non multum fortassis modo extimescunt, timebunt tamen meritissimè ceteri qui, pro sua in fide constantia ac sedi apostolicæ seruata obedientia, sunt maxime fidei hostibus inuisi. Imo faxit Christus ut sub hac herba anguis aliquis minimè delitescat, cum iam libris impressis tumultuosi [jam] aliqui sint commi[nati] se tam Jesuitas quam Archipresbitero adherentes uelle persecutoribus prodere, de quo etiam promisso heretici libris impressis ab eisdem exigunt, ut fidem suam liberent.

6° Eleemosinarum subtractio.

54, f. 161.

Quod eleemosinarum sequutura sit subtractio si eiusmodi earumdem reddenda sit ratio, qualem isti postulant, manifestè liquet, cum non sit credendum uelle ipsarum contributores uel etiam distributores ut, cum capitis periculo per leges Anglicanas constituto, eorum nomina publicentur aut hereticis innotescant ; imo tantum abest ut uelint ullo modo sua nomina in album uel catalogum aliquem conferri, ut nunquàm ferè nisi summo secreto ac hominibus fidentissimis eam rem committant, imposito etiam illis ipsis silentio, ne nomina sua illis enuncient qui eleemosinis sustentantur. Vndè frequentèr euenit ut presbiteri incarcerati alijque qui eas recipiunt benefactorum suorum nomina quoad obierint ignorent, imo non rarò accidit, ut ipsi etiam morituri, ne heredibus obsint, expressè prohibeant ne res ullo modo diuulgetur. Quantum uero periculum sit euulgationis, si tot rationes à tàm diuersis tamque frequentèr mutandis officialibus per istos designatis exigendæ sint, quis non uidet, preterquam quod iniquum plane sit quemquam uelle cogere ut certis hominibus à nobis constitutis eleemosinas, quas spontè elargitur, tanto cum

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periculo tribuat uel distribuendas committat, cum nos aliquos extremo supplicio affectos sciamus eo quod haustum ceruisiæ vel ientaculum sacerdotibus exhibuerint.[a] Quarè cum hoc nouum istorum hominum inuentum de hac eleemosinarum collectione ac ratione reddenda eo manifestè tendat ut sacerdotes inter se com- 54, f. 161b.
mittat æmulationesque maiores excitet et Catholicos laicos in apertum vitæ fortunarumque discrimen adducat, eaque re eleemosinis deinceps erogandis uiam omnem intercludat, clarum est nulla ratione à Catholicis in Anglia admitti posse.

Nescimus etiam quo isti spiritu adeo studiosè religiosos omnes cuiuscunque ordinis in hac sua Reipublicæ Ecclesiasticæ forma deuitent, ut articulo 3° eorumdem inuidia atque odio ab electionibus excludant eos etiam uniuersos presbiteros seculares qui uel voto uel proposito sint religiosi regulares. Hæc enim sunt eorum uerba. Articulo uero quarto patres societatis adeò diligentèr arcendos à suis omnibus negotijs electionibus que uolunt, ut neque directè neque indirectè uerbo uel scripto, consilio uel auxilio, clam uel palam, domi uel foris, ullo modo eis adsint quæ omnia quam absona sint atque ab omni charitate ac pietate aliena et factu etiam impossibilia, cum in eadem Republica et in ijsdem animarum negotijs cum illis unà uersentur DD. VV. Ill^mae uident. Nam hac ratione neque consilium dare in rebus dubijs neque pacem conciliare inter discordes, neque admonitione aut correctione fraterna uti erga delinquentes, nec alia Charitatis officia prestare poterunt. Illud uero quod omnes presbiteros etiam seculares qui 54, f. 162.
uel voto uel proposito regulares sunt ab omnibus suis electionibus excludunt, quantum discordiarum incommodum inferre possit facile est judicare, cum hoc pretextu omnes quos ulla ratione suspectos quisque habeat rebus suis non fauere voto uel proposito religiosos esse causabitur, quemadmodum iam libris impressis omnes siue presbiteros, siue laicos nobiles, imo Car'lem Alanum, Sanderum aliosque passim uocant Jesuitas, quotiescunque aliquid dicunt

7° Calumniarum occasio.

[a] Some time before 1592 two gentlemen were executed, the one for giving a priest a quart of wine, the other a supper. Morris, *Troubles*, iii. 28.

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faciuntue quod ipsis [minus] arridet, ex quo quanta dissidijs porta aperiatur clarum est. Imò de ipsis appellantibus alijsque multis qui proposita uel etiam uota ingrediendi religionem habuisse aliquando noscuntur dubium esse poterit an eadem penitus reliquerint necne, et consequentèr an sint ad omnes ipsorum electiones inhabiles.

8° Praxis nouæ formæ impossibilis.

Preterea in hac ipsis propositæ gubernationis praxi non modo maxima difficultas, sed omnimodo apparet impossibilitas. Quis enim bonis quietisque sacerdotibus persuadebit ut cum tot uitæ periculis ad tam frequentes ab ipsis designatos conuentus accedant? Quis laicos nobiles ut eos in suas ædes cum totius familiæ discrimine admittant inducere poterit? Quis ex quietioribus alicui ex turbulentis per ambitum fortè in superiores electis libenter subierit? multoque minus, quis ferre poterit, quod isti, suorum ut uidetur

54, *t.* 162b

timentes fugam, articulo ultimo odiose addiderunt, ut à prouincia propria abscedentes ad superiores suos redire omnibus modis cogantur? Qui quæso erunt isti modi, aut quanam ratione habebitur legitima illa criminum conuictio quam isti postulant artº 7º. quando conuicto in promptu erit tam de iudice quàm testibus hereticorum opera uindictam sumere? Denique, quod supra etiam monuimus, plane reddetur impossibilis eleemosynarum non modo reddenda ratio, sed etiam ipsamet collectio, ut alia plura pretermittamus, quæ cuique rerum Anglicanarum perito statìm occurrent obuia; nobis enim satis uisum est in re tam perspicua pauca quædem capita idque cursìm indicare.

9° In presenti subordne cessant hæc omnia Incommoda.

Quod si è conuerso ad eam quæ modo uiget subordinationem oculos animosque conuertamus, uidebimus profectò hæc omnia statim cessare incommoda eorumque loco ijsdem aduersa succedere maxima emolumenta. Ambitioni namque præcluditur aditus non ità facile frequentèr mutato magistratu, neque id unquam per inquietorum ambitum atque electiones. Quieti poterunt esse omnes sibique, ut inquit Apostolus, attendere, atque doctrinæ discordiarum præscinderentur fibræ, cum uix unquam Archipresbiteri cuiquam facessant negocium nisi quis uel apertè moueat seditionem,

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uel ualdè se præbeat in laicorum ædibus scandalosum. Pericula non erunt ulla noua declinatis frequentibus illis minusque necessarijs congressionibus. Eleemosynæ sicut hactenus citra dantis aut recipientis discrimen ad manus peruenient egentium. Religiosorum non, ut ipsi cauillantur, imperio, sed non inutili iuuari poterunt opera atque consilio; nisi tamen hac in parte aliud uisum fuerit Sanct^mo^ cui in omnibus parere sunt paratissimi. 54, f. 163.

Denique in hac subordinatione nihil hactenus apparuit admodum difficile, nedum impossibile, nec alia secuta sunt hactenus incommoda quæ non contingere possint in quacunque Rep^a^ uel optimè constituta, si liberum esset hostibus inquietis pro libitu tumultuari et superioribus suis impunè aduersari. Illud prætèr omnia iam dicta summopere animaduertendum uidetur hanc quam isti modo proponunt nouam Regiminis formam prius ab Guilielmo VVatsono scripto fuisse traditam, qui deinceps quotidie cum Pseudo-Episcopo Londinensi agit familiarissimè atque author extitit libri illius Quotlibetici in quo quamplurimæ habentur propositiones erroneæ atque hereticæ.

25. *Refutatio Responsi P. Personij ad Considerationes à nobis S^mo^ D'no N'ro propositas pro pace stabilienda in Ecclesia Anglicana.* 54, f. 163b.

Cum ulcus hoc, quo inscie totius ecclesiæ quæ in Anglia est corpus contabescit, sanari ægerrimè poterit nisi ad vivum resecentur omnia, et morbi ipsius fontes et scaturigines aperiantur, antequam incommodis istis quæ subordinationi a nobis propositæ obijciantur occurramus, hæc pauca prefigenda censemus.

PP. Personium nec uocatum ut Aron, nec missum ut Moysen sibi ipsi hanc dignitatem et auctoritatem sumpsisse, ut in urbe ab anno saltem 97. omnia Anglorum negotia tàm priuata quàm publica solus tractaret, solus informaret, solus promoueret, alijsque omnibus, qui in illius quasi uerba jurati non essent, omnem tum fidem, tum aditum, et successum ad superiorum aures præcluderet: Quod aduentus eius ad urbem causa fuerit istiusmodi rerum

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Anglicarum administratio, testes habemus literas eius, manu sua exaratas.

54, f. 164. 2°. quod solus cum suis hec omnia tractauerit, res est S^mo Dn'o nr'o et Ills^mis DD. VV. adeo nota et familiaris, ut non sit necesse ad informationes suas in publicis Archiuis remanentes confugere; deinde relationibus quibusdam tàm in Vrbe quàm in Anglia sparsis sequaces quidem P. Personij hoc sedulo demonstrare contenderunt, scilicet non posse in Anglia sartam tectam conseruari religionem Catholicam, si modo absoluta ista et irrefragabilis informandi et administrandi auctoritas à P. Personio et suis uel auferatur, uel diminuatur.

Vltrò certum est, alium preterea neminem ab illo tempore uel admissum uel permissum in vrbe, qui P. Personio ullo modo refragari sit ausus.

2°. certum est, subordinationem istam à Patre Personio inceptam et excogitatam eiusque informationibus et relationibus à Sanct^mo procuratam fuisse, ubi, siquid erratum est, in solo P. Personio est cudenda faba.

3°. ex ipsis literis institutiuis, literisque apostolicis, confessioneque ipsius D. Standisij (cuius manu et lingua parum ueraci P. Personius usus est ad subordinationem istam stabiliendam) patet falsas fuisse informationes, et causas fictitias, quibus fretus P. Personius formam istam regiminis, quam ille Hierarchiam uocat institui curauit.

54, f. 164b. 4°. Cum ab illo responsum hoc ad considerationes nostras profectum esse non dubitamus, uariasque in eo falsitates et calumnias contineri perspicimus, cumque ille acerbissimis nos (etiam post aduentum nostrum in urbem) contra mandatum Sanct^mi affecit iniuriis, partìm uiua uoce partìm asseclarum suorum clamoribus et excursionibus, idque apud omnes hominum ordines, partìm libelli cuiusdam famosi, quem apologiam uocat, in urbe et in Anglia publicatione, contra Breuis Apostolici decretum excommunicatione . . . allatum, cumque nihil in dictis aut scriptis nostris ex eo tempore appareat acerbius aut immodestius prolatum, putauimus

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(quod bona cum uenia Ill. DD. VV. fiat) et paci futuræ perquam necessarium et iustitiæ et ueritati eruendæ percommodum fore, si cum ipso P. Personio cominus et aperto marte congrediamur, asseclis, et umbris eius pretermissis.

Calumniarum cumulus quibus in hoc P. Personij Responso præstringimur.

In articulo primo ambitionis preteritæ nos arguit falsissimè, et futuram nos in suspitionem trahit.

In eodem articulo inquietos, artº 3º et 8º turbulentos, articulo 5º tumultuantes uocat, art. 7. in lites et discordias propensos dicit, art. 8. adeo nos infames putat ut electis in superiores parendum esse dubitat. 54, f. 165.

Artº 9 apertos uocat seditionum motores et ualde scandalosos in edibus Catholicorum, in art. autem 5° apertè insinuat nos nec in fide fuisse constantes, nec sedi apostolicæ obedientes, contra declarationem Sanctmi qua nos nuperrimè hac nota liberauit et perpetuum huic controuersiæ imposuit silentium tàm uerbo quam scripto, tàm in vrbe quam in Anglia.

Breuissima Calumniarum istarum Refutatio.

Cum nullum sit superiorum genus quos non summa cum alacritate agnoscimus (Archipresbiteri enim auctoritatem ad unum omnes uiso breui apostolico admisimus, in rebus controuersis primo ad Nuncium in Flandria, deinde ad Illmos Cardinales Protectorem et viceprotectorem rectà porreximus, et modo ad pedes sanctissimi prostrati quid de nobis rebusque nostris statuat humillimè expectamus, sub uno capite unius corporis et Ecclesiæ membra constantissimè contra portas inferi et persecutionis impetum perseueramus) mirari satis non possumus à quo capite defectionem istam factam et seditionem excitatam à nobis toties et hic, et in libro suo apologetico inculcat P. Personius; à quo corpore separatos tam odiosè clamitat? cui potestati hostes tam inquietos et tur-

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54, f. 165b. bulentos nominat? cum separationem aut secessionem ab alio capite et corpore inter fratres nostros nullam uidemus nisi forte seipsum duosque ministros intelligat, quem pro domino et superiore nec agnoscimus nec agnoscendum putamus. Turbarum autem et contentionum omnia semina et segetes, cum à tribus uel quatuor sui ordinis hominibus prodiisse uel lippientibus innotescat, nescimus quid illi in mentem uenerit in capita nostra suorum crimina retorquere iterumque uulnus hoc post infusum à Sanctissimo oleum refricare. Quod si hic Romæ in ore et oculis Ill^marum DD. VV. et in conspectu Suæ sanctitatis post iniunctum silentium acquiescere nesciunt, quid de ijs in Anglia est sperandum ubi auctoritate armati posteriora prioribus peiora efficient proculdubio, nisi innocentiæ nostræ à Sanct^mo D'no Nostro et Ill^mis DD. prouideatur?

Refutatio Proemij.

In proemio, duo à responsi auctore P. Personio tractantur: P^o incommodorum et periculorum aceruus in subordinationem à nobis propositam artificiosè congeritur quibus singulis seriatim suo loco singula dabimus responsa; 2^o persuasione quadam Rethorica à maiestate Sedis Apostolicæ desumpta subordinationi suæ succen-
54, f. 166. turiare satagit. Quasi uero quicquid magis sedis apostolicæ dignitatem deceat et sanctitatem predicet, quam quæ falsis et iniquis informationibus impetrata uideantur eadem liberrimo et legitimo examine patefacere, et post detectas fraudes et artificia uel ueritatis suppressæ uel suggestæ falsitatis quæ primo tanquam preclarè instituta et breuibus apostolicis confirmata prodierunt, eadem non solum mutare et diminuere, sed potius abrogare et antiquare; quin et hoc solemne est in curia Romana, non ad paucorum importunitatem (ut suo more loquitur P. Personius) sed ad ueritatis et æquitatis iustissimas postulationes multa sæpissimè reuocare et reformare, presertim uero ea quæ in disiunctis et remotis regionibus in aliorum preiudicium ex falsis relationibus sunt instituta.

Quod autem de remedio loquitur tàm presente et propitio,

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nimirum posse penitus una uel altera S. S. declaratione omnia sedari, loquitur uel inuisus[a] quantam nos fratresque nostri apostolicis scriptis reuerentiam et obedientiam exhibemus, aut errat longè qui putat multum diuturnitatis [?] esse custodem aut pacis propugnaculum? Verum is est captus hominis, ut preter uim et uirgam ferream nihil ad continendum in officio sacerdotes opportunum existimet aut rebus suis commodum.

Refutatio articuli primi
De Ambitionis incommodo.

54, f. 166b.

Hoc sibi palmarium putat P. Personius, ambitionis, seditionis, factionis, passionis, et indeuotionis labe conspergere omnes qui quicquam contra illum quem sibi opinionis errore finxit principatum hiscere aut mutire audent.

Quis autem nisi mentis inops, nisi oculis captus est, qui non uideat quorsum hec tendant, aut in qua herba lateat anguis, aut ex qua officina prodeat ambitio, qui Patrem Personium uel à facie nouerit, uel de eius libris, literis, et tractatibus uel tantulum degustauerit.

Mortuo felicis memoriæ Ill^mo Alano tumultuari ceptum est in Anglia inter quosdam Jesuitas et sacerdotes seculares, omniaque tàm in carceribus quàm in prouincijs, tàm domi quàm foris commoueri, vnde tempestatem futuram preuidentes, cogitauimus communi omnium tàm secularium quàm Regularium consensu, et summi Pontificis approbatione de societate sacerdotum secularium instituenda et superioribus eligendis, qui certis quibusdam regulis subiecti, tàm pietatis quàm charitatis opera ardentius quam in uita separata solebant exercere. Res grata uisa est Jesuitis, laudabant uehementèr pios conatus; at ueriti, ne concordia 54, f. 167. tanta confirmati sacerdotes illorum in dirigendis alijs in distribuendis eleemosynis et dirimendis controuersijs seu seminandis potius eneruarent auctoritatem, clanculum ad urbem miserunt qui,

[a] Or *inscius*? There is something wrong in the latter part of this sentence.

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associationem nostram seditionem uocantes, istam subordinationem in qua alieno nomine licentius dominari possint a Sanct^mo impetrarunt: hinc fundi nostri calamitas.

Ad ambitionem uero quod spectat de titulis aut infulis parum refert, modo imperet quis, modo de omnibus collegijs, seminarijs, collectis eleemosinis, pensionibus, controuersijs, residentijs disponat P. Personius, nemini uillicationis suæ rationem redditurus, siue suo hoc, siue alieno nomine, siue arte, siue apertè id faciat, nihil refert, dum faciat modo; neque in hoc tam secreto et tecto dignitatum aucupio ambitionis scintillas latitare cogitemus; demusque tantum homini religioso, illo nempè inconsulto, missos fuisse à Patre Holto Jesuita eius subdito legatos (quorum unus, ille nimirum qui peierauit, in vrbe est) ad Archiducem Albertum, qui nomine totius nationis ab eo peterent literas ad Summum Pontificem de P. Personio ad dignitatem Cardinalitiam promouendo; at suo se inditio prodit bonus iste pater, cum actiones et cogitationes uniuersas huc dirigit, ut Principibus persuadeat in suo supercilio sitas esse Catholicorum omnium fortunas, uoluntates, affectionesque, quibus fultus speciosissimas de Regno Angliæ potiundo chimeras, quoties et quibus illi commodum uidebitur,
54, f. 167b. magnatibus obtrudit; hec ueriss^e esse testantur Heskettus missus à P. Holto Jesuita (qui nil unquam inconsulto P. Personio superiori suo ausus est aggredi, et D. Worthingtono eius organo ad comitem Darbiensem, qui nomine Catholicorum eum ad Regnum capessendum incitarent, qui captus supremo supplicio est affectus. Ipse uero comes non post multos menses ueneno est sublatus.

Testes sunt sacerdotes aliqui, qui à P. Personio id ipsum etiam in mandatis habuerunt, ut Comitem Darbiensem, sicut fecit postea Heskettus, pertentarent. Testis est liber Successionis, ubi multa de Catholicorum affectione et titulo Infantæ ceteris præferendo loquitur; huc spectant literæ missiuæ ad P. Holtum dum esset Genuæ anno 1597 cuius ueritatis tres testes producemus et prototypo testes subscriptiones alumnorum titulo Infantæ. Testis liber Reformationis, quem in refectorijs legi curauit, ex quibus

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colligitur in hoc terminari Patris Personij ambitionem, ut possit quem uelit Catholicum ad Angliæ successionem promouere novamque Reipublicæ et Ecclesiæ formam, tanquam nouus Solon, ciuibus et posteris suis relinquere: quibus consideratis, et hoc et iam eius de instituenda et defendenda hac subordinatione egregium commentum nobis suspectum non immerito esse cepit, quippe qui eius opera [cognoscamus quomodo] quas uelit Catholicorum subscriptiones sacerdotum præsertim partim metu, partim minis, partim lenocinijs et promissis, cartæ licet uacuæ appositas possit extorquere, omniaque Catholicorum negocia, collectas eleemosinas, **54, f. 168.** desideria etiam et uoluntates suo nutu dirigere, cuius opera et auctoritate poterit in suam sententiam uel inuitos trahere, uel pertinaces, et à tali ambitu abhorrentes [apud] exteros infamiæ et [improperiorum] cumulis obruere.

Cetera Ill^mis DD. VV. consideranda relinquimus in qua subordinatione altiores radices egit ambitio aut certiora reliquit argumenta, ubi notandum est illa ambitionum incommoda quæ subordinationi nostræ opponuntur omnibus æquè collegijs, congregationibus, religionibus, Rebuspublicis, Regnis, ubi electione creantur magistratus et superiores, esse communia.

Refutatio 2^æ partis articuli primi
De multitudine et vicissitudine Magistratuum.

In subordinatione à P. Personio excogitata 12. sunt Assistentes, unus Archipresbiter, quibus per totum Regnum in hac nostra subordinatione quinque adiecimus, et duos ad quos in grauaminibus fiat recursus. In qua Regiminis forma, ut itinerum et impensarum uitetur longinquitas et grauitas, habebunt sacerdotes in suis prouincijs superiores ad quos confugiant, et quibuscum agant minimo cum sumptu, tum labore et periculo.

In vicissitudinem uero magistratuum et annalem seu biennalem elect^em minimè mirandum est quod in hoc articulo calamum acuant, **54, f. 168b.** utpote perpetuæ P. Personij dictaturæ ex diametro oppositam;

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quod si in confesso sit tantam uirtutis, pietatis, et deuotionis stragem in Rempublicam Christianam ex necessitate inferre istiusmodi frequentes superiorum mutationes, quid tandem patribus Concilij Tridentini in mentem uenit tales superiorum uicissitudines in omnes religiosorum familias introducere tanquam ambitionis, dissolutionis, superbiæ, et tirannidis antydotum; quid in collegijs, capitulis, sodalitijs, congregationibusque reformatissimis ubi annuis electionibus et mutationibus geruntur omnia? nunquid omnes exuisse pietatem, deuotionem et mortificationem dicamus, quod statis temporibus ad superiorum electionem conueniant? quid parochi qui de annuis creandis ædituis sunt solliciti, an ideo ut perpetuo animarum curam abijciant necesse est? quidquid de residentia in residentiam, hoc est de beneficio in beneficium, de parochia in parochiam singulis annis, aliquando uero mensibus, ab Archipresbitero mutantur, uel saltem ad nutum mutari poterint; nunquid et mentem una et meritum animarum lucrandarum mutasse dicamus? Quin et eo magis absurdum uideri potest nugas istas et mera figmenta de ambitionum et distractionum incommodis à P. Personij inuidia prodijsse, cum ipse alijque Patres Societatis qui Angliæ negotijs implicantur ita uitam actiuam et contem-
54, f. 169. platiuam in ordinem redegerunt, ut in ipso æstu et impetu contemptus mundi etiam de Regnis mundi Regnique titulis et rerumpublicarum reformationibus, sine ullo meditationum aut deuotionum obstaculo, libros imprimant, de missionibus, seminarijs, pensionibus, facultatibus, regimine, priuilegijs, de litibus, et controuersijs, de politia, et successore futuro Regni Angliæ sedulò tractent. Hec enim omni aut cum sua sanctitate ageret, scribit Pater Personius Genuæ Mart. 15. 1597, causam itineris sui ad vrbem tunc temporis fuisse; preterea cum non solum publica sed priuata singulorum negotia amplectantur isti boni patres, mortificationis tamen magistri haberi uolunt, cumque nullum esse nuncium, nullum legatum existimamus Pontificis aut Principis qui plures Patre Personio literarum fasciculos ex omnibus Europæ angulis mittat aut recipiat, sumptibus et pecunijs pauperum et patrimonio

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Christi (cum totus tamen sit in mundi fuga et contemptu) quomodo tàm degeneres et angusti pectoris putet esse sacerdotes, ut non possint de biennio in biennium pro electione superioris congredi aut syngraphis suffragari, nisi uirtutibus nuncium remittant et in omnimodam superbiam et uanitatem defluant.

Refutation articuli secundi
De Turbationis et Iniquietudinis incommodis.

54, f. 169b.

Hoc sedulo agit Pater Personius ut uisitationibus, appellationibus, causarum examinibus, canonicis probationibus, pecuniarijs rationibus precludat uiam, et pro suo arbitratu subordinationis huius suæ auctoritate munitus in sacerdotum omnium famas et fortunas sæuiat ; deque collectis et eleemosynis omnibus ad libitum disponat, cum Alcibiade iniens rationem ne reddat rationem, ne fortassis ad calculos revocatus repetundarum reus cum suis inueniatur.

In hac uero à nobis excogitata regiminis forma, breuissimis itineribus, leuissimis expensis, minimaque animorum corporumque inquietudine transigentur. Hæc omnia, cum facillimum sit unam peragrare Prouinciam, suffragia per literas transmittere et sæpissimè conuenire tàm ad electiones quàm ad causarum decisiones, at in illa Patris Personij subordinatione omnes istas turbationum, sumptuum et inquietudinis difficultates concurrere, quis non uidet, qui uidet ex remotissimis Regni partibus ad unum Londini degentem superiorem esse confugiendum, uel ut se de crimine purget quis, uel 54, f. 170. ut uerè superiorem suum informet, uel ab eo ut petat quid, uel ut de grauaminibus conqueratur, quæ literis committi aut exprimi non possunt, quod si à superiore isto quid durius aut iniquius iniunctum fuerit, nullum in hac subordinatione refugium habemus nisi ad vrbem confugiamus.

Certum est igitur eum, qui electionibus, appellationibus, uisitationibus, canonicis probationibus, pecuniarijs rationibus, in Republica (ad cuius ipse clauum sedet) nullum relinqui debere locum existimet, merito posse in affectati imperij suspitionem trahi.

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Refutatio articuli tertij
De Litibus et Discordijs.

Tantum abest ut contentionum seges fertilis ab hac nostra forma oriatur, ut nihil ad pacem et fraternitatem stabiliendam aptius excogitari potuerit, quam hæc tam æquabilis et moderata imperandi et subijciendi forma, cum illa arbitraria Patris Personij subordinatio nullis legibus, nullis limitibus circumsepta omnem iniustitiæ, violentiæ, et oppressioni libertatem indulgens, perpetuum quoddam discordiarum et contentionum erit fomentum.

54, f. 170b.

Refutatio articuli quarti
De Distractione perpetua ab Animarum cura.

Hæc omnia gratis esse dicta facillime perspicient Ills^mæ DD. VV. tum ex ijs quæ superiori articulo de uicissitudine superiorum diximus, tum quod hic sicut in alijs capitibus nihil probari aut argumento aliquo confirmari uideant. Quid enim impedimenti aut meditationibus aut mortificationibus aut curæ animarum afferret aut imprimeret in sacerdotum animis unius horæ aut diei occupatio, et in negotio electionum et uisitationum sollicitudo post biennij in summa pace transcursum curriculum; cum ipsi, inter tot secularium negotiorum fluctus et uoragines perpetuo agitati, nihil tamen ad spiritualia segniores aut ad conscientiarum directionem aut animarum curam ineptiores haberi uelint.

Refutatio articuli V^ti
De periculis Detectionum et Comprehensionis.

Non sunt ad electiones istas nostras necessariæ tam frequentes
54, f. 171. congregationes et congressus, nec tanti rumores et strepitus qui toties et tàm artificiose in responso Patris Personij inculcantur, semel enim singulis annis uel post biennium tractari potest hoc negotium uel una congregatis eiusdem prouinciæ sacerdotibus (quod sepius singulis annis uel casu uel leuioribus de causis euenire

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solet) uel scripto uel nuncio missis suffragijs. Cum autem ubique in periculis versamur, sepissimè autem in Catholicorum edibus conuenimus, questio est utrum qui decem dierum iter conficit, ut superiorem adeat et alloquatur totidemque in reditu insumat, maioribus et crebrioribus sit periculis, sumptibus, animique et corporis motibus obnoxis, quam ij qui uno plerumque die aut ad summum biduo aut triduo idipsum conficit negotij. Undique sunt pericula, molestiæ, labores, at in ista Patris Personij subordinatione tantum sunt grauiora et diuturniora, quantum à tribus decem, aut sex uiginti multitudine et disparitate disiunguntur.

Refutatio articuli sexti
De Eleemosynarum subtractione.

In sexta sua de eleemosynis ratione quantopere P. Pars. ratione destituatur, patet facilius atque apertius, quam ut cuiquam obscurum esse queat, nam cum uix unquam alias copiosiores eleemosinæ a Catholicis in Anglia datæ fuerunt (ut testatur D'nus Blacuellus in literis suis 20. martij 1600 datis) nec unquam minori cum æquitate et parcius distributæ, cumque non solum sacerdotum ferè omnium uita (siue hi in carceribus degant siue extra) ab eleemosynis maximè pendeat, sed alij plurimi Cath. domi forisque et priuatim et in communi uictitantes harum piarum eleemosynarum subsidijs sæpe sustententur; quid æquum magis est aut necessarium, quàm ut tales eleemosinæ ita dispensentur, ut et dantium uoluntatibus et egentium necessitatibus optimè consulatur et satisfiat? Hæc autem dispensatio ut recte ac sine omni diminutione et fraude fiat, nulla facilior, tutior, aut honestior uia nobis occurrit, quam ut de acceptis e quibuscunque eleemosinis ratio aliquando reddatur. Sintque preterea constituti aliqui uisitatores nimirum ad quos pertineat precipuam quandam curam eorum qui in necessitate maiori sunt habere; ut hac ratione, et maximè egentibus subueniatur distributione, et accipientibus quasi aliquod frenum imponatur, ne eas effusè aut negligentius in suos aut alienos super- 54, f. 171b.

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fluos usus profundant, aut minus ex uoluntatibus contribuentium. Quibus sane rationibus ita respondet Pater Personius ut nihil
54, f. 172. respondeat, unum tantum affirmat esse ualde periculosum, ut nomina dantium prodantur; quasi uero aut hi omnes qui largiores eleemosynas cõferunt ita lateant, ut non sint multis Catholicis ipso nomine cogniti, aut necessm sit in reddendis rationibus dantium nomina semper exprimi, cum satis fuerit acceptas summas simul et modum causasque dispensandi in rationes referre easque superiori suo Archipresbitero aut uisitatori pro tempore existenti exhibere, qui cum unicus erit, simulque et semel rationes eorum accipiat, nec alteri quam successori tradat, non uidemus cur adeo de euulgatione timeri debet, aut uel minimum inde datoribus (quibus dandi cui uolunt potestatem relinquimus) creari periculum, multo uero minus hoc apud probos et rectæ conscientiæ sacerdotes (quibus dispensandi libertatem non negamus) ad emulationem uel ad dissentionem ualebit, qui non quæ sua sed quæ Dei sunt querentes, id tutissimum ad suarum conscientiarum securitatem reputabunt, si in his quæ fidei suæ fuerint commissa rectè dispensandis, non Deum solum sed etiam homines testes habuerint neque quicquam perinde; atque hec cautela æquissimaque ratio in pecunijs dispensandis apud Catholicos laicos ualebit ad eorum liberalitatem excitandam, quæ etiam procul dubio latiorem [viam] erogandis eleemosinis aperiet, claramque efficiet talem rationem omnimoda ratione à Catholicis in Anglia admitti et posse, et debere.

54, f. 172b. Neque nouum hoc est quod proposuimus, aut à praxi ecclesiæ primatiuæ alienum, cum in 6° Actorum diaconos talibus præficiendos collectariis rationibus non dissimili omnino data occasione decreuerunt Apostoli; facto quotidiano ministerio despicerentur; eadem sunt tempora persecutionis [scilicet] idem contemptus et inequalitas in repartiendis collectis; idem quasi numerus designatur, hic diaconorum, apud nos superiorum; vbi alitèr Apostoli, alitèr se gerit Pater Personius, illi enim in hac exorta in ipsis ecclesiæ incunabulis contentione summa cum suauitate fibras et radices malorum (adhibita Diaconorum cura et sollicitudine)

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euellunt. In Patris uero Personij responso, quid hic simile pietatis? factum est murmur sacerdotum incarceratorum laycorumque plurimorum quod in distributione collectarum se spretos animaduerterent. Ex quadraginta quinque millibus enim aureorum, quæ defunctorum legationes (preter alias pecunias quas Catholicorum uirorum largitas contulit) in pios usus his quatuor superioribus retroactis annis erogarunt (ut magni Jubilei eleemosynas taceamus) qui in D'no uincti fuerunt ne tantam quidem partem receperunt ut sine graui æris alieni pondere ad uictus et uestitus necessaria comparare sibi potuerint. Sacerdotes passim in summis rerum angustijs uictitabant. Et ex laicis aliqui magnæ notæ et nominis homines fame miserrimè perierunt, cum interim 660 aureorum in Belgias transmittenda rapuit fiscus, et alia 16000 **54, f. 173.** dicuntur tuto illic paulo antè peruenisse. Hinc factum est iustum murmur. Petunt Catholici rationes reddi, et superiores constitui, ne sicut hactenus cum uitæ dispendio spernant[r] in distributionibus. Hic Pater Personius emulationem, seditionem, pericula eleemosynarum subtractiones clamitat, neque æquum esse censet cum Apostolis præficiendos Diaconos, sed castigandos eos qui his malis medelam adhiberi cupiunt. Immemor fortasse quid Pater Westonus in Castro Vuisbicensi cum D'no Bluetto questore communi eleemosynarum (qui 15000 aureorum annuatim pro carceris illius subsidio solitus erat recipere) ageret, gratitudinis enim et pietatis pretextu non solum ad calculos eum exactissimos uocari librosque perscrutari uoluit sed nomina etiam benefactorum tabulis inscribi et in singulis cubiculis affigi æquissimum putauit. Verum nondum ad illos peruenerant loculi, neque hominem integerrimum, qui quindecim annorum sollicitudine, et collectarum distributione summa cum fide et omnium satisfactione Catholicorum omnium in se oculos conuerterat, tàm cito de sede et auctoritate sua deturbare poterant.

Tandem vero, illo artificiosè, contentiosè, et scandalosè excluso, rerum potiti sunt, ubi imposterum, solitis eleemosynis aut non missis aut malè impensis, summis premebantur angustijs. **54, f. 173b.**

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Refutatio articuli septimi
De Calumniarum occasione.

In septimo articulo grauissimè conqueritur Pater Personius Jesuitas suos ab electionibus et secularibus administrationibus excludi; at uero id nobis non solum æquissimum et ordinatissimum sed paci ecclesiæ Anglicanæ maxime necessarium uidetur, ut non magis Jesuitæ sacerdotum secularium, quam sacerdotes Jesuitarum aliorumque religiosorum electionibus et administrationibus se immisceant neque hoc alitèr accipi uolumus quam totius Christianæ ecclesiæ praxis consuetudoque obseruat. Non enim aut pacem conciliare aut fraterna correctione uti, aut uere pietatis charitatisque fungi officijs eos prohibemus, sed quia omnium harum calamitosarum dissentionum causa precipua et auctores extiterunt quidam Jesuitæ, dum ambitiosè nimis et uiolentèr imperium in clerum Anglicanum affectarunt, tolli hæc denuo aut sopiri nulla ratione queunt, nisi illi rerum perturbatores non modo à regimine sacerdotum, sed etiam ab omni eius ambiendi potestate, et occasione adeoque suspitione excludantur. Hancque ob causam, non
54, f. 174. tantum Jesuitas professos illos, et palàm cognitos, sed illos etiam latentes et uel solo uoto seu proposito Societati obstrictos, remouendos ducimus, à quibus hæc eadem mala (licet latentius non tamen minus periculosius) prestare experimur, adeo ut uel eo grauius periculum paci publicæ ab his immineat quam ab ipsis professis Jesuitis, prout occultiores sunt nec alijs quam suis Jesuitis, uel ob hanc maximè causam cogniti, ut ista omnia tutius per eos atque artificiosius in seculari regimine conficiantur. Nam ij sunt quos Jesuitæ post manifestatum ipsius propositum ingrediendi societatem, imo post emissum religionis votum, ad se recipere nolunt, sed foris per annos, tanquam seculares, data opera [volunt] excubare, ut exploratorum munus inter sacerdotes exerceant atque ad omnia sint parati conficienda quæ ex re Jesuitarum esse possint. Hos diligentissimè instruunt in hoc Tyrocinio, et secularibus præfic

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curant, ut in auctoritate constituti facilius efficaciusque res omnes et omnia Jesuitarum molimina promoueant.[a]

Magna sane pacis turbatio et nimia boni publici iactura ex alio hominum genere oriri necesse erit, quos Jesuitæ premijs presentibus et futurorum spe sibi allicere et deuincere ubique solent, ut ad suum nutum omnia (quando occasio fert) conficiant; istos si ab electionibus et rerum nostrarum administ^bus non excludimus, illos 54, f. 174b.
certe non ægrè ferre debent prohiberi, quos certum habent aliud Instituti genus secularibus iam esse ingressos, presertim cum nec ipsos Jesuitas (qui uideri uolunt in lucrandarum animarum operibus et desiderio ceteris prælucere) latere potest quod omnibus notum est, Clerum, et totam Ecclesiam Anglicanam, quæ intestinis dissentionibus modo cruentata miserè jacet, felicissima pace et concordia floruisse, donec Jesuitæ cum [occultis] suis nouitijs fines proprios egressi, sæcularium negotia inuadere et tractare precipitantius ceperunt, dominatum artificiosè ambire in carcere Vuisbicensi; deinde (illo non ex sententia succedente) presentis regiminis formam falsis informationibus instituere, superiores omnes eligere, leges præscribere, et eo demum singulari gradu dominandi omnibus tàm rebus tam hominibus presidere, ut nihil maioris momenti deberet effici à superioribus secularibus quod non prius judicio hominis Jesuitæ esset comprobatum. Tunc enim non homines ob prudentiam aptiores ad gerendum magistratum, non ob æquitatem digniores loco, aut ob industriam merito prestantiores qui fraterna charitate paceque omnes coalescere inuitarent, ad prelaturas eligebantur; sed illi soli assumpti ac ad regendum accessiti sunt qui ui, minis, metu optimos quosque ex secularibus, 54, f. 175.
aut cogerent Jesuitarum uoluntatibus in cunctis acquiescere aut eos immeritis infamijs iniurijsque audactèr obruerent, ut de

[a] The existence of these "Jesuits in disguise," or "covert Jesuits" as they were then called, on the mission, was a constant source of complaint on the part of the secular clergy. Similar offence was given by the vow of obedience to Father Parsons taken by Dr. Worthington when vice president at Douai. The list of scholars at Rome who have become or are "reputed Jesuits," 1597—1602 (*infra*, p. 214), appears to have been drawn up in reference to this subject.

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Archipresbitero et assistentibus (qui ex duplici hominum genere per Jesuitas electi fuerunt) meridiana luce clarius patescit.

Notum preterea omnibus est quam admiranda fuerit gloria, quam utiles progressus Collegij Rhemensis (quod modo difforme nimis et sterile manet) antequam Jesuitæ procurationes pensionum in Hispania et Roma, et in Anglia communium eleemosynarum administrationes sibi arripuerint. Itaque cum certissimum sit et nimis manifestum non priuatos solum sed uniuersam Anglicanam ecclesiam tot incommoda, tanta damna, tantam calamitatem ex hoc presertim capite tulisse, quod Jesuitæ cogniti et latentes negocijs secularis Cleri se immiscere permitterentur, non molestè ferre deberent si tandem post tantas acceptas clades cautiores effecti et serius nobis consulentes, eos et eorum occultos nouitios à nostris electionibus et administrationibus coerceri cupiamus.

Vtque nostrum non esse putamus tam curiosos esse in aliena Republica, ut de illorum regimine, subordinatione et superioribus inquiramus, aut quomodo illorum nouitij in Anglia recepti, et
54, f. 175b. Angliam, ut alij solent sacerdotes, peragrantes sine nouitiatu, aut recipi, aut retineri, aut spiritu religioso imbui intèr tam diuturnas distractiones potuerint, sic nec illis æquum esse existimamus, nostris uel præesse uel interesse electionibus, neque ulterius se immiscere quam solent ceteræ in Ecclesia Dei Religiosorum familiæ. Hæc enim est uera Hierarchia, ubi singuli ordines et status ecclesiastici suo se loco, suis legibus, suis limitibus contineant, neque stationes suas deserunt, neque in aliorum castra prosiliunt, ut uitetur omnis confusio et calumniandi et murmurandi occasio.

Neque sane difficile erit (cum res ita postulare uidebitur) suspectos hos sine omni errore, dissidio, aut iniuria discernere; id enim uel unico uerbo prestari potest, si non satis sit presumere et credere Catholicos sacerdotes omnes, post apostolicam prohibitionem, uelle ex se libere, pietatis solum et conscientiæ bonæ intuitu uetito abstinere sponteque, si uinculum habeant, detegere.

Neque rursum (ut Pater Personius affirmat) impossibile magis erit quod proposuimus de excludendis Jesuitis ab his tractandis

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in ipsa Anglia quam sit clerum in reliquo Christiano orbe in eisdem animarum negotijs cum ceteris Religiosis familijs sine secularium negociorum commixtione uersari, unaque tùm religiosæ tum fraternæ charitatis officijs incumbere. 54, f. 176.

Nos igitur ceterorum Christianorum exemplo pacisque conciliandæ ac conseruandæ studio, denique usu et ratione docti non spiritu nescio quo (ut Pater Personius objicit) moti, nostra negotia nobis, alijs sua relinquimus et uindicamus. Quæ uero de Ill^mo Alano, Sandero et alijs affert (quia calumniæ sunt) intacta abire sinimus. Interim tamen serio affirmamus Jesuitas Alano et optimis quibusque Anglis, tum in regendis Collegijs tum in rebus Angliæ tractandis, summoperè ob eam maxime causam displicuisse, quod spretis secularis Cleri honore et fama posthabitisque commodis et pace Ecclesiasticæ Anglorum Reipublicæ, nimio ardore et impetu ad sua in cunctis querenda ferebantur. Quod sane ab Ill^mo Alano ab ipso initio animaduersum causa fuerit, ut non nisi inuite eos ad alumnorum Anglorum regimen admitti consenserit: introducti uero in Romanum Collegium et messem Anglicanam, ad suæ prudentiæ regulam ita omnia redigere conati sunt, tum fouendis dissensionibus tum omnia ad se trahendo, ut pretèr ipsos auctores etiam reliquos fere omnes tantæ illis collatæ potestatis penituerit, planè animaduertentes, ex infausto rerum euentu, multo ut ante felicius sic post tranquillius et fructuosius consultum fuisse rebus Anglicanis, si, relictis Jesuitis, in solis bouibus id est in clero seculari (ut ceptum erat) arare perseuerassent.[a] 54, f. 176b.

Epilogus pro sexto et septimo articulis.

Verum cum in sexto hoc septimoque articulo maximam uim suarum rationum facere uideatur Pater Personius, satis mirari non

[a] But, if it be true that Allen would have preferred that the government of the college at Rome should not have been placed in the hands of the Jesuits, it was he who, when differences arose, persuaded the Jesuits to take part in the English mission, and it was the superiors of the Society who at first rather held back from the undertaking.

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possumus uirum eius prudentiæ suam suorumque et dominandi et pecuniarum cupiditatem tàm manifestè prodere. Quid enim illis indignius qui se mundo mortuos et à secularibus rebus separatos profitentur, quam uix sub uerborum fuco hanc intemperantiam animi sui uelare posse; presertim cum se hoc nomine pessimè apud Anglos audire non ignorant, quod dominatum in clerum secularem affectare et pecunias præ ceteris in usus proprios ac luxum sollicitius aggregare et profundere cognoscantur. Cur enim his rationum umbris ac commentis tantopere contendit bonus ille Pater ne sui ab electionibus et administratione arceantur, neue acceptarum et distributarum pecuniarum cuiquam reddant rationem? Cur
54, f. 178. tam inania objicit pericula, dissidia, emulationes? Cur tantam sollicitudinem de quietis meditationibus et pietatis exercitijs sacerdotum habet, et nolit eos pecuniarum aut ambitionis cogitationibus à mortis et tormentorum tolerandorum cogitatione ad punctum temporis detineri? cur aliud omne quam præsens regimen damnat, et aspernatur? non ob aliud certè, quàm ut plenam quam obtinent potestatem Jesuitæ retineant; quod directè uindicare non audent indirectè consequantur; pecunias, quas uerbis respuunt, reipsa omnes in suam potestatem redigant, de his deque eleemosynis, sacerdotibus, laicis, rebus denique omnibus, maximis minimisque, pro suo arbitratu, nemine contradicente disponant.

Refutatio octaui articuli
De Impossibilitate praxis nouæ formæ.

Nemo est ex bonis et quietis sacerdotibus qui cum fratribus suis etiam quietis (utcumque illos turbulentos dicat Pater Personius) conuenire refugiet; et de facto in ædibus nobilium unà uiuunt, et unà congrediuntur, partim casu, partim dedita opera; uerum esto ne sacerdotes [quidem] posse adduci ad conuentus istos, nec nobiles
54, f. 178b. laycos eos admissuros, quod usu quotidiano (licet id strenuè egerunt Jesuitæ nostrates, ne à Catholicis reciperemur, idque apud Sanctitatem suam importunius urgebat Pater Personius, ut id ipsum in ultimo breui Catholicis omnibus iniungeretur) falsissimum esse experimur;

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attamen cum electiones istæ absentium syngraphis possint commodissimè confici, totum hoc de impossibilitate commentum corruit. Quod si hac ex parte talis aliqua emergat Impossibilitas, ex literis institutiuis Archipresbiteri multo manifestiùs apparet ubi ille et sacerdotes ad se uocare, de criminibus cognoscere, conuentus facere, et in eisdem presidere iubetur, quæ omnia in hac nostra forma uidentur factu impossibilia, præcipue uero impossibilem statuunt esse legitimam criminum conuictionem quia conuicto in promptu est tam de iudice quam de testibus hereticorum opera uindictam sumere. Quæ impossibilitas æque in auctoritatem Archipresbiteri militat, quomodo enim aut sacerdotes ad se uocabit, aut testes audiet aut corriget quenquam, cum conuicto in promptu sit tam de iudice quam testibus uindictam sumere? quod hactenus tàm calamitatibus obruti et iniurijs affecti ab Archipresbitero, nostrorum fecit nemo, neque faciet, ut speramus, quisquam à Deo derelictus, utcumque omnia suspitionibus implere cupit Pater Personius, ut aliquod habeat semper quo fugiat de[verti]culum. 54, f. 179.

Refutatio articuli noni ubi dicitur in presenti Subordinatione cessare omnia predicta Incommoda.

Iam satis superque demonstratum est omnia illa quæ subordinationi a nobis proposita obijciuntur meras esse nugas et commenta, in illa uero Patris Personij regiminis forma maxime uigere, quibus si illa etiam addamus incommoda quæ in alio scripto à nobis Ill^mis DD. VV. exhibito apparent, facillimè, ut speramus, uidebunt Illust^mæ DD. VV. qui sint reuera pacis et fraternitatis amatores, et num in hoc precipiti uiolente rerum cursu quo impellentibus alijs fertur Archipresbiter (tam leuibus de causis ut ipse confitetur tam graues exercens inimicitias, et infligens penas, quæ usque ad uitam ipsam et animam penetrant) sperari poterit aliquis contentionum finis, aut presentium motuum cessatio.

Ad motum enim primi mobilis (P. nimirum Personij, qui rapidissimus et uiolentissimus esse solet, cum moueantur in hac subordinatione omnia, ad unam . . . Patris Personij potentiam et auctori- 54, f. 179b.

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tatem stabiliendam inseruire uidentur, et hoc tam absolutum in Archipresbiteri dominium, et tam cæcam quam à sacerdotibus exigit obedientiam: quid enim magis Tyrannidem et extremam sapit ambitionem, quam in dicta causa, non admisso aut uocato reo, sine lege, sine teste, sine appellationis remedio aut subsidio, extremo famæ et fortunarum supplicio hominem sacerdotem afficere; quod ab Archipresbitero sepius factitatum ostendimus in grauaminibus sanctissimo exhibitis, et ex natura ipsius regiminis loci et temporis in quibus instituitur et uiuitur fieri necesse est probauit ex suis incommodis Pater Personius.

Iustitia (ut inquit Propheta) et pax osculatæ sunt. Quam ergo ex subordinatione illa pacem sperare licet in qua procuranda et exercenda iustitiæ ipsius fundamenta conuellunt! Quod si ex æquo et bono contra omnes naturæ et ecclesiæ leges et canones
54, f. 180. punire, iudicare, et imperare licet propter temporum et locorum difficultates et pericula, ex æquo etiam et bono obedire licet propter eadem pericula, et sic arbitraria erit tam superioritas quam subiectio.

26. *Letter of the four Appellants communicating to their English brethren the papal sentence on the question of Schism.*[a]

Admodum Reuer^di^ in Xp̃o Patres fratresque

Exhibuimus Ill^mis^ Cardinalibus Burghesio et Arigonio (quos sanctissimus arbitros instituit in causa nostra, uiros tam pietate et uirtute insignes, quam legum scientia et rerum experientia et animi candore omnibus gratos) rationes quibus ducti distulimus Archipresbitero ante aduentum Breuis Apostolici obedire. Quibus cum sanctissimo communicatis undecimo Aprilis, placuit Ill^mis^ Cardinalibus sanctitatis suæ mentem eodem die nobis significare, nimirum quod propter dictam dilationem nec scismatici nec rebelles aut inobedientes extiterimus, et quod confessiones factæ

[a] There is no heading to this document in the original. The letter was signed by the four appellants at Rome, and addressed "to John Colleton and Antony Heborne and the rest of their associates." See above, p. 11.

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sacerdotibus, qui ob huiusmodi rationes distulerunt, essent ualidæ et nullo modo reiterandæ, nisi aliud forsan interueniret impedimentum quam quod à tali dilatione haberet originem. Hæc uobis significanda duximus, partìm ut multorum conscientijs satisfiat, partim etiam ut ad omnem uos modestiam, charitatem, et humilitatem excitemus tam literis quam exemplo. Quod reliquum est habemus clementissimum Patrem, æquissimos arbitros, neque est quod dubitemus de pristina pace et tranquillitate breuissimè recuperanda. Romæ decimo quinto Aprilis 1602. 54, f. 180b.

Harum literarum exemplar cum utroque Cardinalium reliquimus qui, communicato cum sua sanctitate negocio, responsum tulerunt, sanctitatem suam uelle et jubere, ut hec ad uos scriberemus[a] unàque moneremus illum intelligere hec omnia in ultimo suo breui in hunc sensum esse determinata et declarata, perpetuumque silentium huic controuersiæ imposterum imponi iubet, tàm in urbe quam in Anglia, sub censuris in eodem breui contentis.

27. *Catalogus Paradoxorum, et Propositionum Temerariarum quæ in primo scripto Illustr^mis Cardinalibus Burghesio atque Arigonio exhibito lutius ostenduntur.*

Paradoxon Primum de authoritate Sedis Apostolicæ negata in constituendo superiore aliquo ecclesiastico in Regno Angliæ. 54, f. 181.

Propositiones habet quatuor.[b]

1. Prima Pontificem non potuisse Archipresbiterum super eos const[it]uere sine ipsorum consensu, nisi contra canones facere uellet. Exempl. discursuum pag. 29.

[a] Colleton, in reporting the papal sentence (*Just Defence*, p. 293), says nothing of this reference to the last brief and to the command of "perpetual silence," which had been entirely disregarded by both sides. Compare p. 193 *infra*.

[b] The books from which the greater part of the following propositions are deduced are the *Important Considerations*, the *Quodlibets*, the *Dialogue betwixt a Secular priest and a lay gentleman*, and the *Sparing Discovery*, all four attributed to William Watson and disowned by the delegates at Rome. The others referred to are the

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Quodl. pag. 163.

2. 2ª quod sua Sanctitas non solum contra Canones aut Jus Ecclesiasticum peccauit Archipresbiterum instituendo, sed contra humanum, etiam diuinum, naturale nationumque.

Exempl. discurs. pag. 6. Consid. pag. 14. Prefat. ad dialogum. Quodl. p. 63, 166 et 162.

3. Tertia. quod pontifex citra Reginæ ac Reipublicæ Anglicanæ consensum non potuit, nec potest hodie, superiorem aliquem ecclesiasticum in Anglia constituere, et si constituat, quicunque superiori sic ab eo constituto obedierit, legitime castigari poterit amissione bonorum omnium, ac perpetua incarceratione ex præscripto cuiusdam legis penalis perantiquæ, hoc est ante trecentos (inquiunt) annos latæ, quæ uulgo dicitur de Præmunire.

Quodl. pag. 171.

3. Quarta quod summus Pontifex non solum propter legem antiquam de Premunire non potuerit Archipresbiterum in Anglia legitimè constituere, sed neque propter leges recentes Reginæ ac

54, f. 181b. Reipublicæ presentis.

Paradoxum Secundum de preiudicata Pontificis auctoritate in excommunicandis Principibus secularibus.

Propositiones habet quinque.

Quodl. pag. 258. 256. 255. et 260.

1. Prima. Nullo modo expedire ut Pontifex Romanus his temporibus Principem aliquem temporalem excommunicet.

Ibidem. pag. 260.

2. Secunda. Nullam unquam hactenus à summo Pontifice latam esse contra aliquem Principem excommunicationem cuius postea ipsum non pœnituerit.ª

Ibidem. pag. 255.

3. Tertia. Tot esse excommunicationum Pontificiarum nullitates ut impossibile ferè sit sic denunciari excommunicationis alicuius

Copies of certain Discourses, and the *Hope of Peace* by John Bennet. The two Latin books by Mush and Bagshaw escape censure. The oath of allegiance censured under Paradoxon Tertium, art. 6, is probably one of the forms printed below, p. 246. Compare the letter of Cecil to Watson, Feb. 1602.

ª Compare the words of Urban VIII. to Cardinal Borgia in reference to the excommunications of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, exacted at the instances of the house of Austria and the Spaniards, says the pope, "But with what success? The whole world can tell. *We yet bewail it with tears of blood.* Wisdom does not teach us to imitate Pius V. or Clement VII.," etc. Quoted in Simpson's *Campion*, p. 371.

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sententiam contra Principem aliquem, ut possent subditi eius secura conscientia illi non parere. Idque planè cerni in excommunicatione contra Elisabettam lata.

4. Quarta. Quod non obstante quacunque, uel maximè ut [principis] hæretici, Pontificis Romani excommunicatione teneantur subditi Principi suo parere. Ibidem pag. 254. et 255. Quodl. 8. ar. 7°.

5. Quinta. Quod sententia excommunicationis lata per Pium V^tum contra Reginam Angliæ, et bina eius renouatio per Gregorium decimum tertium et Sixtum Quintum Summos Pontifices, inualida fuit ab initio et iniquè lata. Ibidem pag. 252 et 253.

Paradoxon Tertium contra authoritatem Pontificis in castigandis Principibus hæreticis per gladium temporalem.

Propositiones habet octo.

1. Prima. Quod summus Pontifex neque debet, neque legitime potest ullum Principem temporalem, uel heresis uel apostasiæ uel alterius cuiuscunque criminis causa, Principatu suo priuare, uel bello persequi, et quod leges ecclesiasticæ ea de re factæ non obligant. Quodl. pag. 250. Considerat. pag. 39.

2. Secunda quod si Pontifex ulla de re, etiam religionis Catholicæ tuendæ causa, contra Principem aliquem hereticum, nominatim uero contra Reginam Angliæ, arma moueret posse ac debere Catholicos omnes ei resistere, hocque se facturos protestantur. Considerat. pag. 38. Prefat. ad Dialogum. Quodl. pag. 176. 177.

3. Tertia. quod si Pontifex bellum contra Angliam moueret, et uerbis protestaretur Religionis solius restituendæ causa et nullo modo regnum subiugandi id fieri, fidem tamen ipsi adhibendam non esse. 54, f. 182b. Ibid. pag. 176.

4. Quarta. Catholicos omnes speciali uoto ac iureiurando distringere se debere ut summo Pontifici, si arma contra Reginam moueret, uiribus omnibus resistant. Ibid. pag. 304.

5. Quinta non tantum superiores leges in bona ac uitas eorum Catholicorum, qui istis hac in re non assentiuntur, ferendas esse sed spiritualia etiam commoda auferenda. Ibid. pag. 303.

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Consid. pag. 3. Juram. ar. 5°. Quodl. pag. 229.

6. Sexta. Eorum Catholicorum qui Pontifici hac in re consentiunt et ab ipsis dissentiunt non solum procurandas esse penas tanquam ueræ patriæ proditorum ac lesæ maiestatis reorum, uerum etiam propalanda consilia si sciantur; idque se facturos profitentur.

Considerat. pag. 20. et 21.

7. Septima non posse excusari à proditionis et læsæ maiestatis crimine eos qui religionis Catholicæ causa ab hereticis in Anglia his annis preteritis occisi fuere, eo quod profiteri recusauerint se Reginæ contra Pontificem adhesuros si bellum ab eo religionis causa moueretur.

Quodl. pag. 252. 253. 254. Considerat. pag. 9. 14. 15. 27.

8. Octaua. Neque ipsorum summorum Pontificum facta hac in re probanda esse, sed reprehensione potius digna, nisi quantum per surreptionem fortè excusentur.

54, f. 183.

Paradoxum Quartum; de habenda maiori ratione status politici quam rerum ad fidem et Religionem spectantium.

Propositiones habet quinque.

Quodl. pag. 292. 293. Parca detectio, pag. 56.

1. Prima. Defectionem à fide in aliquo Principe Christiano non preiudicare Regni sui iuri quod possidet.

Quodl. pag. 292. et 150.

2. Secunda. Heresim uel Apostasiam non debere cuicunque obesse qui ius habet successionis in aliquo regno, et quod impium esset Catholicum qui ius alias non haberet ei anteferre.

Ibid. pag. 223. 229.

3. Tertia. Ità uiuendum esse iam sacerdotibus Catholicis in Anglia et extra Angliam, ut neque uerbo, neque scripto, legibus, statutis, uel factis hereticorum contradicant.

Consid. pag. 36.

4. Quarta. Nouam esse ingrediendam promouendæ in Anglia Religionis viam eique planè contrariam quam Alanus Sanderus, Stapletonus, Patres Societatis et ipsi Summi Pontifices hactenus tenuerunt.

Consid. pag. 37. Quodl. pag. 304.

5. Quinta. Culpam omnem persecutionis quæ hactenus in Anglia deseuijt non tam in reginam ac Consiliarios aliosque hereticos quam in ipsos Catholicos esse conferendam.

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Aliæ Propositiones temerariæ breuitatis causa prætermissæ. **54**, f. 183b.

Prima. Licere ipsis commercium ac tractatum habere cum hereticis hostibusque fidei contra alios Catholicos sibi aduersantes. **Ep. ad Dialog. et in ipso Dialogo pag. 49.**

Secunda. nullum in toto orbe superiorem posse hoc in eis reprehendere, nisi sit ex eorum numero quos Apostolus uocat: *Principes, et Potestates mundi, rectores tenebrarum harum.* **Quodl. sæpe. Spes pacis, pag. 10.**

Tertia. Nullam inobedientiam peccatum esse nisi qua superiori resistitur, et notum eius præceptum contemnitur et impugnatur. **Exemplum discursuum pag. 21.**

Quarta. nullum prorsus actum inobedientiæ commissum fuisse à presbiteris Appellantibus, dum negabant obedire Cardinalis Caetani ordinationi à Pontifice profectæ. **Ibid. pag. 16.**

Quinta. Confirmationis sacramentum uel necessarium esse hoc tempore in Anglia durante persecutione, *uel vanam et quasi superfluam in Ecclesia Dei cerimoniam esse.* **54**, f. 184. **Ibid. pag. 103.**

Sexta. Parochorum, ac secularium sacerdotum perfectiorem esse statum, quam Religiosorum. **Ibid. pag. 103.**

Septima. Impium et Pharisaicum esse examen instituere, uel discrimen facere de admittendis ad religionem: quia non est personarum acceptio coram Deo. **Quodl. pag. 57. 58. et 60. Ibidem. pag. 140.**

Octaua. Jesuitas Religiosos non esse sed omnium hominum deterrimos, et plures ad infernum animas trahere quam ipsos Cacodemones, licere etiam ad Apostasiam egressumque ex ipsorum Religione homines hortari. **Quodl. pag. 61. 62. Ep. ad Parcam detect.**

Nona. Exemplum iuramenti impij contra Pontificis auctoritatem quod istorum appellantium nomine circumfertur. **Quodl. pag. 8. 28.**

Propositiones istæ datæ contra presbiteros appellantes in causa fuerunt quod Eccellentissimus orator Galliæ Sanct^mo^ exhibuerit eiusdem farinæ propositiones ex quibusdam Jesuitarum libris depromptas.

troisieme et dernier cahier du discours recuilli de ce qui est passè en laffaire des prestres anglois faict a Rome le 4^e^ noue'bre 1602.

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III.

LETTERS AND MEMORIALS, 1601–1603.

54, *f.* 401. 1. *Copy of a Letter of Expostulation to Blackwell.*[a]

August 1601.

Reuerend S^r^, oure grèate coste and charges, our paynefull iourneys and daungerous adventures to the sea apostolick have given and to this daie doe give sufficient testimonie of our sincere desire of peace and concorde. And whereas some Jesuits, yo^r^self and others give out that wee had audience and that wee were condemyned in our brethren who went first to Rome, notwithstandinge that they had suche proctors and other helpe as was fitt & necessary for the declaringe and determininge so weightie a matter, it is most vndowbtedly true that so sone as it might conveniently be effected after theire speache with the Protector (who then was) they were restrayned of theire libertie, and were kept close prisoners in suche sorte as neither they could confer together nor might aske counsell of any other in theire cause, but at the end of 7 weekes were brought as prisoners to answere to what yo^r^ proctors could lay against them. To w^ch^ also, when they shewed themselves readie and demaunded a copie of theire accusations, nothinge was delivered vnto them bvt a speache w^ch^ sounded

[a] This letter is chiefly directed against that of Blackwell to his Assistants, dated June 23, 1601, and reprinted in *Jesuits and Seculars*, p. 151. Mr. Macray thinks the copy is in the handwriting of Mush or Champney. There are apparently two copyists; the writing changes after the sixth folio.

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of peace but brought it not. In what readynes others of o^r^ brethren are nowe to goe to Rome it is not unknowne vnto yow :[a] sparinge neither theire persons nor theire purses (both beinge more or lesse in the wayne) to procure peace, so much talked of and so many waies avoided or shifted of by yow and yo^r^ guides, yf iudgem^t^ may be given of yow accordinge to youre proceedinges, whether they are w^th^ color of pietie or pretence of authoritie. Doth not yo^r^ daily comendinge of fa: Lister his libell declare what pyetie did move yow to prohibite the divulginge of bookes either then or afterwarde to be sett fourth whereby the fame of any particular ecclesiasticall person of oure nation might receyve blemishe? Is it not evident, when wee were poynted at bothe by you and youre adherents to be the men who were meant thereby, that yo^r^ edict or prohibicion was to that end made that wee should vse no suche meanes as in all ages haue ben lawfull in the necessary defence of oure selves from yo^r^ vniust oppressions and from the Jesuits theire most wicked calumniations? Was there any savo^r^ of peace (after the peace once made amongst vs) in the p . . . . e[b] of a resolution pretended to come from Rome wherein we were declared to haue been schismaticks? Or was there any tast of pietie in yo^r^ contemninge and reiectinge the censure of the most famous Universitie in the worlde (although vppon true information as yo^u^ suppose) given in o^r^ behalf, after that wee had in vayne, although most humblie, requested that o^r^ controuersies might haue ben determined by a private dispute at home? Did the suspendinge vs from divine offices as much as lay in yow and the interdictinge yo^r^ brethren and fellowe laborers in this vyneyard (who were alwaies readie to give an accompt of theire actions) proceede of a spirite of peace? Or could any pious ignorance pleade excuse of so fowle an . . .[c] or frowardnes in yow to multiply afflictions by censures, yo^r^ authority to inflicte eccles^l^ penalties beinge

54, *f.* 401 .

[a] The intention of sending the four delegates to Rome was not made public until after July 1.

[b] Mutilated.

[c] Some word, perhaps "error," omitted.

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restrayned in yo^{r} constitutive letters to the only takinge awaye of faculties, or suspendinge them vntill the offendo^{r} should be reclaymed, conformable to the former parte of the same letters where, after that the protector had made yow an Archepr: and given yow authoritie to directe, admonishe, reprehende and chasten, he appointed the manner of this chasticement to be in abridginge faculties when there was neede or recallinge them vppon any necessitie? Can yow think that these limitations of yo^{r} authoritie was but to make a shewe only of some honest course of proceedinge w^{t}h vs, and that the drifte thereof was that yow shoulde at yo^{r} pleasure doe what yo^{u} liste w^{t}hout showing any one tittle for yo^{r} warrant from suche as might give suche authoritie? Were there witts (think yow) at home who perswaded yow to these courses, and to challenge moreover vnto yo^{r}self a soueraigne power to determine all controuersies w^{c}h should arise here amongst vs vppon so silly a ground as is a power to end a quarrell or controuersie begone vppon an vnkynde worde or some froward action betweene the priests and the cathol: before it should growe to so fowle a matter, as was most falsly and iniuriously suggested to haue alredy ben and was the sole motive for yo^{r} authoritie? Had that Anti-papall declaracion of yo^{rs} of the 28 of october 1600 any affinitie w^{t}h peace or [uni]tie, when by the authoritie p^{r}tended to be committed vnto yow [by his] holines yo^{u} pronounced diffinitively that the first
54, f. 402. letters by w^{c}h yo^{u} were made an Archepr: over the seminary priests did truly bynde all the catholicks, and that all they who wittinglie did any waye resiste yo^{r} authoritie were truly disobedient to the See apostolick and rebellious against yo^{r} office given yow by the same See? Yf suche a declaracion had proceeded from his holynes who (howsoeuer yow thinke yow doe feele yo^{r}selfe surely assisted) is only warranted as heade of gods Churche on earth and his vicar generall, dowbtlesse it might have caried an infallible creditte: but proceedinge from an Archepr: (who by this office is vnder an Archdeacon) wee may w^{t}hout offence demaund to what these catholickes who were not seminary priests were

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bound by those yo^r first letters, or how all these may be sayd to haue ben veryly disobedient to the See apostolick or rebellious against yo^r office given vnto yo^u by the same See, who wittinglie went or sent to that See to vnderstand his holynes his pleasure before they would admitt the authoritie (for other resistance there was not), yo^r first letters being sent vnto you neither from his holynes nor that See. How can it then be thought that yow were possessed w^th a spirite of peace, who vsed such vnsemely tearmes against yo^r fellow priests and suche as in all reasonable mens vnderstandinge did continue theire ready obedience to his holynes and the see apostolick by submitting themselves so soone as they sawe the Breue? How do you, S^r, desire peace who before these slaunders forbid them vnder more greevous penalties than yow can inflicte to defend them selves from such infamies? Is it not evident that yow ayme at no other matter then by threatninge and punishinge to bringe vs to a sinfull silence, while yow and yo^r complices exercise yo^r selves w^th most shameles declarations, and to that end now lately haue made an other edict against the divulginge or retayninge of suche bookes as discover yo^r bad proceedinge against vs and oure owne iust defence, and for the greater credit of this edict yow prefixe a title the like whereof men vse to heare bareheaded: George Blackwell by the grace of God and y^e ordynance of y^e See apostolick Archepr[iest] of England. Did ever any Archepr: in suche sorte salute his brethren or children? Whom doe yo^u make yo^rself? Your authoritie stretcheth all over England and Scotland: so doth the authority of y^r brethren, and ouer Ireland also: But by chaunce you are an Archepr: in good tyme; it is a good step to be one day M^r Archdeacon by the grace of God. But this stile of Archepr: of England deserveth no worse an intimation than this George Blackwell by the grace of God etc: Dowbtles, were wee not to be tolde by yo^r owne self that yow are George Blackwell by the grace of god and the ordinance of the see apostolick Archepr: of England, wee should make a

54, f. 402b.

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stay and inquier howe yow come to be Archepr: of England. Certayne it is that by the letters of the Cardinall Caietane, w^ch wee haue seen, yow were not made Archepr: of Engl: but of the seminary prests only, w^ch were or should be in Engl: and Scotland, by w^ch yow were made Archepr: as well of Scotland as of England. And it would have ben more hono^r vnto you and a greater terro^r to many other to have heard you declare yo^rself to be George Blackwell by the grace of god and the ordinance of the see apostolick Archepr: of England and Scotland: but in truthe this is to make a foundation for so huge an ædifice first because an authoritie given p^rcisely over one particular estate in a cuntreye will not stretche it self ouer all in the Cuntrye. Secondly whatsoeuer yow are by the grace of god dowbtlesse yow were not Archepriest of England by the ordinance of the See apostolick: yf yow were Archepr: of Eng: but by the ordinance of the Card: Caietane, who in his letters vnto yow sayth playnely that it is his owne ordinance for these are his wordes: Dum hæc nostra ordinatio durauerit: so longe as this oure ordynance shall endure; and afterwardes, Wee give yow the authoritie of an Archepr: ouer the priests of y^e Seminaries. Yf yow vrge the breve w^ch came a yere after the ordinance, no man will make him self so ignorant (especially if he reade the breve) as to think that it was an ordinance of his holynes, and not rather a confirmation of somwhat don by the Card: Caietane his letters, wherein howsoeu^er the breve took it that yow were described by the Card: Caietane an Archep: of the Engl: Cathol: and referreth the readers to the Card: letters, yet yow can not but knowe that there is no suche matter in the Cardinalls letters. yow must therefore lett vs see what yo^w can shewe for yo^r title, or give vs leave to thinke that yow strayne muche for this w^ch yow p^rtend over and aboue the title of an Archepr: of the seminary priests in Engl: and Scotl: And if it were so as yow might call yo^r self by suche title as his holynes might by error or also wittingly hono^r yow: yet should yow not call yo^r

54, f. 403.

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self George Blackwell by the grace of god and ordinance of the see apostolick Archep: of England but of the Engl: cathol: only, for these are the wordes w^ch his holynes dothe vse in his breue and supposeth that suche a title was given yow by the Card: Caietane his letters, but in truthe was not, as any man may see who will reade them. But if it may please yo^w to turne to youre Clementines, de sententia excom: suspens. etc., yow shall fynde, Cap: si summus pontifex, that if the Pope shall by writt, word or constitution vse any title of hono^r to any man, he is not to be thought to approve suche a title in the person or give any newe righte by this his owne word, writt, or constitution.

But, whosoeuer you are, wee take yow for no lesse then yo^w are by the permission of god and the appointm^t or confirmacion of the See apostolick and retorne yow as many good wishes as yow doe send to priests and cathol: of bothe sexes, and wee add this wishe overplus that yow had not made this edicte, for that hereby yow doe many waies confirme men in theire opinion of yo^r want. And because yo^w doe prayse yo^r selfe so muche for yo^r patience in these controuersies, wee nede not here shewe howe yow haue vsed it marvelously in suspendinge some, interdictinge other some, takinge away theire faculties from others, forbiddinge others to preache, beside the detayninge of suche releef as hathe ben appointed for poore priests and prisoners or generally for pious vses from suche as of whom yo^w conceived hardly in respect of these controuersies.

The appellation w^ch was made to his holynes and to the See apostolick (most necessary for the reformacion of suche abuses as were offred vs by yow and others who were born out w^th youre authoritye) is followed as muche as it may and hathe neede as yet. That w^ch is vppon a reasonable cause deferred is not to be indeed forgotten; and in that yow say that the appellacion had not ben 54, f. 403b. delivered to his holynes so soone as it was, had not yow ben,[a] yow

[a] Something omitted. The words of Blackwell were "perhaps never meant to be presented to him [the pope], although means must be made by me that it may come to his reading."

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confirme that w^ch wee haue often said, that it is hard for vs to convey any thinge to his holynes his handes although wee take all the meanes w^ch possibly wee may and haue don in this cause: especially about the sendinge of the booke dedicated vnto his holynes, for that was sent by three sundry meanes vnto him, as wee had certeyne intelligence in June last past from suche as did send it. And what other thinge can so well followe hereon as y^e necessity of divulginge our bookes abrode in so many places as wee may, that thereby either by frend or other some one copy may come to his holynes his viewe. Yow haue therefore litle reason to forbid the divulginge of them especially if yo^w had a sincere meaninge and desire that they shoulde come to his holynes, as yow p^rtend in yo^r letters of the 23th of June last past to yo^r assistants. An other cause of divulginge oure bookes was, that as well at home as abrode wee might lay open the causes of these controuersies w^ch were most vntruly given out by yow and others to be obstinacie, disobedience, pride, ambition, loosenes of life, schisme, sedition and what ells could turne most to oure discredite, all beinge to be beleeved by those whome yowe cold, either w^th glosinge wordes or by enterposinge yo^r authority, draw for yo^r parte as muche as if it had [been] already proved or by some oracle revealed vnto them, whereby many of bothe sexes, to vse yo^r owne terme, havinge over nimble instruments some by nature some by practise, yet all extraordinarily stirred and as it were rapt with these newe inspirations w^th an vndecent fury (as yf they would inforce men to heare them) daylie bray out a most vnsavery and lothsome breth w^thout any outwarde respecte to tyme, place or persons, or inwardly to truthe, honestye or modestye.

Can you (to vse yo^r owne arguments) allowe and comend that senseles and shamefull libell of fa: Lister divulged by diuerse manuscripts most iniuriously to oure reproche, and will yow forbid vs to divulge suche [b]okes in o^r owne defence as may cleare vs from these impious calumniations?

54, *t.* 404. Shall it be lawfull for fa: Holbye the Jesuite to scatter abrode his

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foolishe and false discourses[a] although most vaynely and w^th^out shame avouched w^th^ protestations by him to be most true? and must wee be debarred to answere for oure selves, and discover his falshood? Hathe any comaundm^t^ proceeded from yow that none should divulge any of theire writinges or retayne them? Have yow not in yo^r^ letters of 23^th^ of June last past to yo^r^ assistants affirmed and published that yo^w^ think still that wee were schismaticks: and must wee be forbidden to declare how wee are abused therein? Ought wee in yo^r^ conceyte goe to complayne o^r^ selves in foraigne cuntryes and suffer our selves to be overborne by yow and the Jesuits to our perpetuall infamie at home wth yo^r^ most wicked and iniurious calumniacions? Did the Jesuits or wee begynne first to pen and spreade abrode? May they and yo^w^ together strive who can most greevously accuse vs, and is it a breache of peace in vs to purge o^r^selves? Can it w^th^out shame be asked that yow may in all places say yo^r^ pleasures, and that wee who suffer thereby infynite iniuries should be silent? Yf wee had ben schismaticks in not giving creditt to a Cardinalls letter grounded vppon an egregious slaunder of priests & cathol: and stuffed wth suche matter as was never before herd in the Christian worlde: or if wee had ben so wicked as fa: Lister the Jesuite thinketh that he dothe demonstrate in his absurde treatise and divulged bothe in England and abrode intituled: Against y^e^ factious in the Churche (the first w^ch^ was penned, divulged and yet to this day by yow approved) where was the wisdome w^ch^ crieth out of yo^r^ last edict to vs to go abrode to superiors to complayne thereof while our good name must lye bleedinge at home? Dothe not this bewray that yo^u^ doe but counterfeyte some tymes Jacobs voyce and in very dede have alwayes Esawe his handes? wee must doe belike as yo^w^ say and not as yow doe. Hathe the dealinge in this matter ben so secrett as any one can be ignorant of o^r^ care to haue all matters att all tymes determined w^th^ peace

[a] Father Holtby's Letter to a Lady (June 30, 1601), signed 'A. Ducket,' printed in Vol. I. p. 176.

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and quietnes and haue solicited it diverse tymes at home (where wee haue receyved no other answeres then tauntes and contemptible reproofes) and abrode, where o^{r} brethren in requitall of theire charge, paynes and travell, to be informed themselves and to informe
54, f. 404b. vs what they and wee were to expecte in the hard course begonne against vs, were imprisoned, banished theire owne and confined to straunge cuntries w^{t}hout any allowance for theire mayntenance there, notw^{t}hstandinge they stoode to their triall and were forwarde even to the offence of theire and oure adversaries to answere to what yo^{r} procters had to say against them, either in o^{r} generall cause, in w^{c}h they went, or any other private malitious quarrell? Att this doubtlesse yo^{u} drive in yo^{r} last edicte that they whom wee should send the second tyme shoulde in the like sorte be intercepted, imprisoned, kept so close as they should have no opportunitie to deale in suche matters as wherein they are imployed, after some tyme perchaunce brought forth, accused by yo^{r} fellowes, the matter shufled vpp: they sent away w^{t}h good wordes: his holynes kept still in ignorance of o^{r} iniuries, o^{r} frends certified from Rome by some impudent Intelligenser that they had audience & procters, their cause heard, they insufficient and not able to say any thinge but aske pardon and suche like stuff as Parsons and m^{r} Martyn Aray forged and sent vnto yo^{u} when they undertook to certifye yow of the proceedinges of o^{r} other brethren at Rome. But belike yo^{u} assure yo^{r} selves yo^{r} matters will not have any suche successe or end, yf the true causes of oure troubles should beforehand be divulged throughout the worlde, thereby at the least to purchase vs audience where wee are to hope for remedy against yo^{r} slaunders and the Jesuits impious calumniations. And to this end was the prohibiting of bookes by you, and the divulginge of them by vs iudged necessary, that o^{r} brethren should not be thought to tempt God and be laughed att by f: Parsons and others as our other two brethren were; because, as f: Parsons tolde the tale himself to the students in the Colledge, they, trusting to theire owne innocencye and the iustnesse of their cause, came not

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otherwise any way armed or provided from beinge imprisoned and vsed as they were. Your labor is therefore in vayne wch you take in forbiddinge such courses as are to be thought most necessary to haue oure cause decided and peace restored, and no way eyther scandalous to true harted catholickes or cause of laughter to oure adversaries. Neither will the testimonies of ten thousand to the contrary prove other then either greate tiranny in yow or a sinfull rashnes in the witnesses, when whatsoeuer is published will be iustified to theire shame, vppon whom (although nowe they consider litle thereon) you must and will lay the burden to purge and cleare yor self, although theire testimonies did induce yow to doe what yow doe, and not rather yor importunitye induce them to witnesse they knowe not what, not only against or bookes, against wch you labor to gett the priests handes (as though the testimony of many that they knowe no ill by suche a man can purge him at the barre where there are but two or three ready and able to iustifie it against him), but whatsoeuer ells they must and shall at yor pleasure witnesse (goinge about in imitation of fa: Parsons in Spayne, where he deliuereth the catholick princes, or of John Calvine at Geneva in a round cap) to gett theire handes to blancks, wch some for feare, some for foolishe hopes perchance, will not stick to give for yor satisfaccion, howsoeuer their soules lye at prsent gage and may hereafter smart for it: at what tyme all theire corses will not misse you who did induce them vnto so fowle a matter. Yf any device could be made to perswade men that, by reason or fear of yor authoritye, honestye were as infallibly annected to yor actions as in yor edict made 18 october 1600, you would insynuate that truthe was inseperably annected to yor definitions, yow might perchaunce make many to think it a goodly matter to be in authoritie and force vppon you their handes to an hundreth blancks. But wthout dowbt bothe yow and wee shall finde a fayle bothe in the one and the other. Leave therefore this and other the like conceyts: they guide yow not well to whom you have given over yorself. They make yow to multiply edicts to very small purpose 54, f. 405.

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in this kinde: as well for y^t yo^u have not as yet shewed what or where yo^r authoritie is to make edicts, as also for that yo^r edicts tend to one and the same cause, w^ch is longe since devolved from yow to yo^r superio^r, wee havinge appealed not only for oure selves but all other also oure frendes bothe from the greevance wee felt and all other to force afterward vppon vs in or for the cause in controuersye or any thinge perteyninge therevnto. And the iniustice of this yo^r last edicte appeareth the greater in that it is
54, f. 405b. given out by yo^r frendes that our bookes contayne many falshoodes w^ch are to be vrged against vs and therefore in reason wee are to retayne them that wee may not be to muche abused by suche as
31 July. seeke for such advantages. We haue been also certified by the superio^r of the Jesuites here in England that, er it were longe, the two printed bookes should god-willinge be answered from Rome. And how then shall wee understand y^e answere vnles wee may see how well it is applyed, vnles perchaunce yo^u woulde that wee should beleeve that wee say what this answerer maketh vs to say, and that wee are the men w^ch he wolde finde in his harte we were, and in him to prove, or that his wordes should be taken for oracles and the bookes fully satisfied when they can not be seen what is conteyned in them. What man of corage would aske of his aduersarie so greate an advantage if he had any conceyte that the least right were in his generall? Take a good hart vnto yow: seeke not by suche disgracefull meanes to preiudice yo^r owne case. Yf yow haue don well, be you assured that the least heare of yo^r head can not perishe. Yf you haue ben [un]iustly charged w^th any thinge free yo^r self not by wordes but by proofes: keepe not yo^r frendes still in this suspence that there may be somewhat said for yo^u and in yo^r cause, whe[r]e they see nothinge but wordes and those detractions against men (were yow not of England) farre yo^r betters, and in England of farre greater merite in the cause of god and his Churche. The greater these yo^r lamentations are, the more greevously will they light vppon you, who can not but see, vnles the case (beinge yo^r owne) doe to muche blynde yow, how

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that all yo^{r} actions are but very shiftes for the present to wyn tyme, w^{c}h in the end will trye who hathe the truthe. I will not here repeate what either in this letter vnto yow or former discourses are at large mentioned so playf[n]ully that none but affected ignorance or blindnes colde misse. How doe yo^{u} forbid all aswell the laytie as y^{e} Clergie to divulge or retayne any bookes of that argument of w^{c}h o^{r} bookes were, and both divulge and retayne yo^{r} self, yea and beare out some other bothe of the laytie & the clergie to divulge or retayne such bookes? Is there not an Epistle of pious greef, by S. N. to his ffrend, lately sett fo^{r}th in printe[a] divulged and retayned by yo^{u} and yo^{r} frendes, wherein, amongest some idly applied common places against discorde, foolish prayses of f: Parsons and other, this argument is handled, so muche as it is, very simply, god wott, but in slaunderous termes and most wicked assertions, and S. N. the author thereof is nothinge ashamed to intitle it An epistle of pious greefe. If he had called it an epistle of greef, it might very well have borne the title, and euery man who should reade it wolde thinke the author had over muche greeved, yf not to the losse of his senses yet dowbtles to the losse of his sowle. But callinge it an epistle of pious greef, it conteyninge most impious exclamacions against cathol: priests, the title hathe litle congruitie w^{t}h the treatise: the other might haue ben thought to haue beene caried w^{t}h some humane passion or wrong informacion, yf his greef had ben that wee could not frame o^{r}selves to be in order vnder a superio^{r}, and that wee made strife and contentions against the Jesuites and Archepr: but to exclame in this manner, O that it weare not against Jesus him selfe! was to shew his greef was mixed with more then a mans malice and to make an insoluble argum^{t}, that it was a most impious greef, whatsoeuer he p^{r}tended. To the lik effecte he vttereth that, of w^{c}h his stomack semeth an indeficiant springe: and chargeth vs some tyme, that wee haue brought cathol: into

54, f. 406.

fol. 3°.

fol. 3°.

[a] I can learn nothing of this book. The initials point to Silvester Norris, a priest, who in 1606 became a Jesuit, and wrote books under that signature.

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daunger of theire lives or their soules: some tyme that wee had secrett intelligence w^th^ the enimies, and have o^r^ selves made a further resolution yf occasion serve. Cold this be written w^th^ any charity, or so muche as one sparke of the pious greefe? What enemy is this w^th^ whom wee haue had this secret intelligence, or what resolution may it be, that wee are charged to have made, yf occasion serve? or what occasion may this be w^ch^ is here left as a relic? when every man shall haue made the worst conceyte he may of vs: yet doth this sentence leave worse matter to stay vppon, if her ma^ty^ or any of her honorable Counsell or any other by theire appointm^t^ (perceyvinge a reall diffrence betweene vs risen vppon the falshood of the one parte against them, and fidelity vppon the other parte who never toke them for enimies but rather what they iudged amisse in them) have shewed some extraordinary favo^r^ vnto some: and given them leave to followe their case against suche as haue abused them, what harme hathe come thereon? These men thus favored have don much goode bothe to priestes and lay men: as o^r^ most impudent adversary can not deny, although some (for mere splene against them) boldly give out that they caused a soden and perilous serche in London for the Archepr: and Jesuites: a slaunder evidently convinced to suche as live in London to be most false, the serche beinge in suche places as where some of vs might haue been endaungered, and these not disturbed, who to vs and all in London are knowne to be most impudent of theire tongues against vs, the chiefe lay assistantes to the Archepr: and highly devoted to the Jesuites. Should wee vppon this grounde (w^ch^ were the case changed would be an invincible argum^t^ to o^r^ adversaries against vs) say: that the Archep: and Jesuites caused that serche for the disturbance of vs and o^r^ frendes w^th^ whom at that tyme wee might haue ben and they supposed wee were, they who by all likelihood might haue harbored some of them at that tyme not beinge once called vppon? Yf we would have Jesuited and caried so small a respect to charity, those sturres w^ch^ nowe are in England perchance had never

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ben; but these speches against vs must still be in every mans mouthe and fill all cuntries where either the Jesuites or any of theire faction doe come and fynd theire wished intertaynmen^{t}. What secret intelligence the Jesuites haue had w^{t}h suche as [they] would have vs knowe they take for theire enimies, and what resolutions they have had themselves, if occasion should serve, their duble message to the castle and vnto vs, theire bookes and letters of state, matters doe declare and convince in such sorte as greate must the imprudence of S. N. be, to vrge any suche poynt against vs, who have not at any time dealt in hugger mugger, but playnely and openlie (evident signes of o^{r} integritie and fidelitie), to w^{c}h although it rest vncertayne what end they will give in, when it is to give it good or bad, or howe longe or shorte this respite may be to breathe vnder so perilous a yoake, yet it is most certeyne that many haue found comforte and ease for the present in reason not to be refused and no man any way preiudiced thereby: what tales soever be vrged against vs already or may hereafter vppon such ingrounded suspitions as S. N. in his evill applied epistle would engender in his frendes minde by cryinge out against scandalls, discorde, and contention w^{t}hout showinge who were the authors thereof: but rather blaminge suche as beinge abused should endevo^{r} to remove the suspitions and crimes layed against them. And to the end that he and his fellowes might the more surely & w^{t}hout rebuke proceede in slaunderinge the priestes he censureth that sentence of Pamachius to S^{t} Hierome as voide of sounde iudgem^{t} w^{c}h in this epistle he citeth: Purga suspitiones hominum et convince criminantem ne, si dissimulaueris, consentire videaris. Cleare thy self of mens suspitions and shew that theire accusations be false, lest by dissemblinge them thow mayst seeme to agree vnto them. What conscience may wee think doth S. N. beare whose advice is so voyde of reason? Howe would he have censured S^{t} Augustine if he had red this iudgem^{t} in him: Duæ res sunt, conscientia et fama; conscientia necessaria est tibi, fama proximo tuo: qui fidens conscientia sua negligit famam suam,

54, f. 406b.

fol. 2°.

Ser: 4° diue·

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crudelis est. Conscience and good name are two thinges: conscience is necessary for thy self, good name for thy neighbo^{r}: who trusting to his conscience neglecteth his good name is cruell. Whosoeuer were the authors of these contentions nowe in Engl: his epistle of pious greef is a most impious treatise: where he taketh it as a verity not to be contradicted that who so opposeth himself against a Jesuite or superio^{r}, opposeth himself against Jesus: as though (to omitt his blasphemie) no Jes. or superio^{r} can doe that w^{ch} is amiss, nor necessary meanes for redresse be vsed but wth an opposicion against Jesus. Yf S. N. did knowe that the Jes: & Archepr: haue ben the Authors of these controuersies in Engl: how wickedlie hathe he employed his tyme in framinge this epistle and applyinge it to vs as to men who by repyninge at authoritie had caused these tumultes? Yf S. N. hathe forgotten it, he may call to minde that the first begynninge of those controuersies was at Wisbiche, where by most vnchristian meanes as the defraudinge of some priestes there & abridginge them of the cathol. almes by w^{ch} they lived, the Jes: and some other adheringe vnto them for y^{t} purpose endevored to compell the rest to become theire subiectes. This not succeedinge altogether to theire mindes, by the shamelesnes of one who had a resolution to be of theire order they procured an absolute authoritie ouer all y^{e} priestes of y^{e} Seminaries w^{ch} were or should be in Engl. or Scotland in such a man as would be at theire devocion. ffor the furtheringe whereof a most wicked slaunder was raised & suggested at Rome against the seminarie priestes & cathol: as may be seene in the Card: Caietans letters to m^{r} Blackwell. The authoritie beinge given by this false suggestion was as falsly proposed, & because when wee sawe a thief wee woulde not runne wth him wee were by the Jes: and y^{e} Archepr: proclaymed schismatickes, excommunicated factious seditious Rebells, irregular, no better then southsayers & Idolaters & as ethenickes & publicans, even at suche tyme as wee sent to Rome to acquaint his ho:^{nes} wth y^{e} abuses w^{ch} were offred to him & his flock, an argum^{t} for vs to men of sence that, whosoeuer were

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guilty of these & oth[r] suche crymes, wee were most free from them: since y[t] y[e] departing from him argueth schisme not y[e] hasteninge vnto him, when there is iust cause as was here in a matter of so greate weight, procured by palpable deceyte & by most false & ignominious suggestions, alwaies likely to growe to that passe to w[ch] it is nowe come.

The authority beinge at y[e] length by sinister meanes also confirmed, at y[e] sight of y[e] breve wee did . . . .[a] submitt our selves vnto it w[th] a free remission [?] of those greevous iniuries w[ch] wee had receyved . . . .[a] y[e] aforesaid slaunders. But the Jesuites and Archepr. had not as yet what th[ey] aymed at. Theire thirste would not be quenched . . . .[b] greater furtherance of this wickednes a Jesuite beganne to renew the forged calumniations and to averre that whosoever shall dogmatizando affirme, that we were not schismaticks (in not obeying the authority before we saw the Breve) shold incurre the censures of holy Church. The Archpriest being warned hereof, to the ende that this fyrebrand of faction (to vse his own tearmes) shold be quenched, was so farre from giving redresse as he allowed of the assertion, and for the more creditt thereof our infamy, and to bringe somewhat to passe, in w[ch] it shold seeme he and his followers were crossed by our submission to the authority, he published a resolution, w[ch] he sayd he had from the mother City (to give it perchance an extraordinary authority) that the refusers of his authority were schismaticks; and from time to tyme [he] commended Listers seditiouse libell, as a most learned discourse even at such time as he wold beare the world in hande that he held it as a matter of opinion whether we were schismaticks or no, and that he gave every man leave to hold what he wold therein. And this being so vndoubtedly true, as the Jesuits and Archpriest cannot disprove it, and hath been in other discourses so demonstrated, as it were to spend time vainly to prove it in this place: how are we condemned for indevoring by all meanes possible to 54, f. 407.

[a] MS. mutilated. [b] Page torn: the second copyist begins here.

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remove those calumniations and crymes most falsly layd against vs? how could silence be vsed herein, w^ch as Pamachius above rehearsed doth affirme is an argument of guiltines, or as S^t Augustine sayth, is cruelty against ourselves, how cleare soever our consciences are before God? And how then hath this pious griever, if not vainly imployed his time in quoting authors sacred and prophane against discord and contention, yet impiously applyed them to vs and for wante of matter exclaymeth against our knowen courses for peace as against discord and contentions, w^th these tearmes; ô, that it were not against Jesus himselfe? We will not say, that Jesuita, a Jesuite, is derived from Jesus; as mons, a hill, is a movendo, w^ch signifyeth to move; because as the derivers say, the hills doe not move, although some, eyther by miracle or by some accident in the earth have moved: doubtles some of the Jesuites actions in these affayres have had no more cohærence w^th Jesus then detraction hath w^th charity, falshood w^th verity, cruelty w^th compassion, that most iustly S. N. might in his griefe have both exclaymed against the spiritt w^ch hath possessed them, ô that it were not against Jesus himselfe: and charged them (as not being content to perishe alone) that they plundge our litle barke (already shaken by the tempest of persecution) in theyr owne ruyne, having themselves through pryde and most vnchristianlike courses sonke lower then w^thowt some speciall miracle they may rise againe. And if by them we have been compelled to lay open more then is for theyr creditt,
54, f. 407b. w^thowt towche of any who have well deserved of vs, we are most vniustly accused of vngratefulnes.

Who this S. N. is, who hath declared his griefe in this epistle, it is not much materiall: some by the frivolous heaping of sentences have iudged it your owne. Some have thought that it is ffa: Parsons his piety; both for that we have been kept a longe time in expectation of an answere from Rome to two bookes (as this epistle seemeth to be) and also for many sayinges therein knowen to be his. If it could have been made by you both,

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neyther of you had been indebpted to the other. ffor who cannot see here how *mulus mulum*. If yow being putt in authority have demeaned yo^r^ selfe otherwise then becometh you, why shold you being our Archp^r^sbiter bynde vs to soothe yow in it? Many murmuring against theyr superior have been diversly smitten by the hande of god: therefore (if this epistle maker will conclude to his purpose) no man must contradict a superior, how soever he behave himselfe: who seeth not this folly? or who since the Breve hath refused the authority? who of any sense can yeald that he was a schismaticke in not obeying of it, before he saw cause why he shold? This is the question, and not, whether a man knowen to be in authority ought to be obeyed. And the case of this controversy is not that any doe repyne at authority (as this epistle maker falsly suggesteth) but whether Catholicke priestes ought to beleeve theyr superior, that they were schismatickes, excommunicated, irregular, factious, seditious and fallers owt of the Church and from the spouse of Christ; lost theyr facultyes w^ch^ they vsed in the gaine of soules to Christ, and consequently have abused all theyr ghostly children in hearing theyr confessions w^thout^ power to absolve them; been disobedyent to Christ his vicar, yea and to Christ him selfe, and for what? fforsoth because they did not submitt themselves to an vnknowen authority before they saw a Breve: wherein they first perceyved the popes mynde therein. Neyther is this the first time, that this foolishe Rhetorick hath been vsed. *The times are such, as yow could have very litle vse of externall discipline and correction towards any*: as though no great matter could be practised by yow against vs: whereas yow taking hold of this, have (as you say yo^r^ selfe) made yo^r^ edictes wth punishmentes to be incurred ipso facto: and notwithstanding have made examinations of matters (post factum) as it is at large declared, in *the hope we have of peace*. 23 June 1601.

The deserts of the Jesuits are declared in this epistle: by theyr being our masters, our govern^ore^: our masters to wryte bookes, buylders of Colleges for vs, and procurers of great almes for our

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relief. If the epistle maker doe meane, that all Jesuites haue deserved thus of all the priestes: it is evydent, that he is
54, *f.* 408. deceyved: many of the chief and those who have and doe full labor in our Church, having never been beholden vnto them for any of these matters. And if he will fly to his meaning that some Jesuits have well deserved of some priestes: then must he neyther condemne all the priestes of vngratefulnes to the Jesuites, nor any at all, vnlesse he can shew an opposition in them against all the Jesuites, w^ch^ surely he shall never doe: the priestes reteyning an honorable respect vnto the order and particularly to such as they are bound vnto; and finding themselves agrieved only by the bad dealings of some of them, who are a disgrace to theyr order. Our college of Doway (afterwards translated to Rhemes) hath sent the greatest sorte of laborers into this vineyarde: and while it was vnder oure owne government, it was mainteyned w^th^ double the number, that now it hath, being now at curtesy of the Jesuites: besydes theyr disgracefull vsage thereof in putting downe such lectures therein, as by w^ch^ our priests might attaine to some knowledge of divinity; vnder a color forsoth that learning maketh them prowde (but in very truth to abvse the Cleargy of England, that no sæcular priest hereafter shall be able to match them in learning, and thereby to grow into contempt amongst the Catholicks, whose soares must lye and fester vntill theyr parishe priest can finde out a Jesuite to aske his counsell): besydes the caveats they putt vnto the governo^r^ thereof (a vassall of theyr owne) for receyving of such students as they only must preferre and the Archpriest, who is also at theyr devotion: w^ch^ they performe w^th^ that charity, that if they may vnderstand, that a youth (howsoever he is affected in his mynde) doth receyve any benefitt by vs, or any of vs, it is a sufficient occasion for them not to further him; w^ch^ as the case is declared is to hinder him: As if when a man shold see one in neede receyve some reliefe of such as he cannot brooke: he must whett his stomach against him who receyved reliefe, and doe him what mischief he can. As of late the Arch-

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priest and Jesuites vnderstanding of a young gentleman, who was by our meanes to be conveyed over, notwthstanding he was to mainteyne himselfe and in such place where the Jesuites make a good commodity of such, as not to be brought to any account of what they receyved for this cause, they absolutly denyed to give him theyr letters, wthowt w^{ch} he could not be there interteyned. The English college at Rome was and is governed by the Jesuites: in w^{ch} theyr practises to allure the schollers to theyr society and to disturbe such as will not yealde vnto them, declareth how well they deserve of God and our contry. Our hearing some of them reade in the scholes bound so many vnto them as heard them: although at home those who wold not be of them were vpon theyr Doway pollicy dieply [?] hindred from the profitt they must have taken. But no doubt God hath and doth supply otherwise what through theyr faithfulnes to him in opposing themselves to manifest perill in defence of the Catholick church they might thrcugh the Jesuites evill pollicyes have wanted: and they have hearde as occasion hath served both in the vniversityes and in prisons that they have had learning, when such as contrary to theyr oath taken in the Colledge for the present helpe of theyr contry have loytered behinde, pretendinge to purchase more piety and learning, and bewrayed how they have only profited in a foule senselesse and detracterious spiritt. But if for our hearing them in the scholes we shold not be gratefull, we shold incurre the cryme, w^{ch} they also may incurre, if they think not themselves beholden to vs, by whom they have profited in learning: some of them especially, who have been brought vp in such universityes, as whereof some of vs are members; or some had the helpe of such in particular in theyr proceedinges, as had been of vs: as Card: Alane, D. Sanders, D. Stapleton: to say nothing of Bp: ffysher, Gardiner, Cope and diverse others, from whom theyr chiefest wryter and most at this day admired, had had no small furniture. Vnto what tumultes the Jesuites have brought that college at Rome, it were lamentable to rehearse, of w^{ch} howsoever they may post the cause to the

54, *f.* 406b.

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studentes, yet cannot it be doubted but that through theyr disorder it standeth in very hard tearmes. The Colleges in Spaine sett forward by ffa: Parsons are at litle rest (a strange observation, that there shold be no quietnes where the Jesuites once putt in theyr foote, howsoever they color theyr actions w^th^ piety and spiritt) how well they are manteyned I know: possibly they are in farre better case then eyther the College of Doway, or that at Rome, because they are of ffa. Parsons erecting: in w^ch^ if he have deserved ought, perchance it is not of vs who had colleges inough before: w^ch^, if the honor of God and the good of my contry had been aymed at, wold not have been in those desperate tearmes in w^ch^ they are: but it is evydent that those new colleges were erected vpon some other ground; as may apeare by the vsage of the Studentes: w^ch^ hitherto hath been to abvse the Catholick princes of that contry, and to induce them into an admiration of ffa: Parsons, as of a man likely to further any intention, w^ch^ he shold putt into them. And to the better effecting thereof the studentes have been pressed some of them to sett to theyr handes directly to the lady Isabell her title to England: some of them to diverse blankes, subscribing in English to some, to other some in latine and to other in Spanish: w^ch^ and his like practises (how well soever he might otherwise deserve of vs) cannot be reckoned amongst good deserts; as having thereby given our adversaryes so cleare a proofe of his disloyalty towardes his prince and contry, that vnlesse we shold yealde our selves to be traytors to the state, for the love of w^ch^ and the reducing thereof to the Catholick faith we daily adventure our lives, we cannot but severre ourselves from him and his complices, of what quality soever or cloth the cloake is of, w^ch^ must cover them. ffor these and such like both generall and particular his plottes and his fellowes against our contry, and consequently against the quyet w^ch^ otherwise Catholicks might have in England, who now are grown in hatred w^th^ our state and religion more in contempt than ever it was in England (vpon the reduction of w^ch^ S. N. confesseth, the reduction of all abowt it

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doth depend) for his and theyr misdemeanors: also towards vs, because we do not labor in the furthering of such his plotts we have little cause to give him thanks, or to be noted of vngratefulnes towardes him and such his fellowes or followers. Hath he at any time then done well for vs? we thank him for it. But this his wel doing must be no warrant for him to doe any evill w^t^hout rebuke. If a cow give a good soope of milke she is to be *thanked*: but if she kicke it downe w^t^h her heele, the good turne she did may not save her from blame. If the Card: Alane vsed any complements at any time vnto the Jesuites, all the gentlemen who were w^t^h him before his death can testify that he much disliked theyr dealinges towardes vs: and the Jesuites cannot w^t^howt great impudency deny it, to whomsoever they doe shuffle of the blame. Dr. Stillingtons letters of complementes from Spaine also may be shewed: but it is well knowen that through his inward affection to them, not knowing how to mend himselfe, he left his life soner then by course of nature he shold have done: although perchance his being vnder water did him litle good, when in an expedition again[st] England, he was by fa: Parsons meanes compelled against his will to take shipping: at what time that many were driven home by tempest, and many of o^r^ English priests perished by shipwreck. Dr. Stapleton his devotion to the Jesuites was cooled, when he departed owt of theyr order:[a] w^ch^ if they will attribute to a hastines against them they must not vrge his gravity for themselves against vs. Dr. Barrett, who was President at Doway, was knowen to all men to dissemble w^t^h the Jesuites, as they dissembled w^t^h him, keeping him to serve theyr turnes as now they keep an other, and perchance w^t^th the like foolish hope of preferm^t^ by them. But putt the case, that all these did like marvaylously well of the Jesuites, is it an argument that if they were now living, they wold doe so? Could they indure to see theyr brethren in pamphlettes and speeches to be attached of schisme, accounted as excommunicate, fallen from the Church of

54, f. 409.

cherished.

[a] He did not complete his noviciate. See Dodd, ii. 85.

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god no better than Ethnickes and publicans: because they wold send to Rome to his holines, to know his pleasure before they wold submitt themselves to an authority intruded vpon them, as they might well think, it comming w^th^owt any letters from his holines, or testimony that his holines had given such power to any other . . . they knowing no other superior in spirituall matters then his holines: can any man inferre, that those grave and learned men wold have taken the Jesuites parte in so foule a matter, against men of theyr owne coate and profession? How doth S. N. in his epistle of griefe forgett himselfe, or how can he think to draw to this conceyt that those grave men if they were now living wold take the Jesuites parte against vs: whereas there are many living who can testify that y^e^ Card: Alane did take our parte against them, and bewayled oftentimes the garboyles, w^ch^ he saw wold follow after his death between them and vs. The opinion of
fol. 6 et 7. ffa: Campian (as S. N. confesseth) was, that the priestes of England were piissimi et doctissimi: compare this w^th^ ffa: Listers opinion and the Jesuites of vs, who most proudly & yet shame-
54, f. 409b. fully condemne vs both of impiety and wante of learning, and as homunculi (to vse ffa: Listers tearme) in theologia, and to touch that point of vngratefulnes w^ch^ S. N. layeth to our charge, our vsage towards the Jesuites hath been such as more then all the good w^ch^ ever they meant vnto vs hath been abundantly recompensed: w^ch^ if they shall deny, we appeale to theyr forefather ffa: Campian, who (as S. N. here also affirmeth) sayth that we have given him and his fellowes that creditt in England, as he could not w^th^owt feare rehearse it. And to conclude, yow may see if it please yow, that S. N. hath taken great paines to quote many places against discord w^ch^ we hate more than he doth, and were it not a frivolous labor, we wold make a repetition of them or the like. He blameth vs that we doe wryte such thinges, as such as be adversaryes to both may take advantage against vs. He blameth vs that we sent a booke to his holines, and putt no name vnto it. He supposeth, and must have all to think that we repyne at

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authority, regard not our superior, and y^t^ by our bookes we confirme men in opinion at Rome that we are factious: And because he will have no obloquy w^ch^ he may vse against vs vpon this supposall, he will also rather then fayle of his purpose, include himselfe and all our nation in this generall and ignominious judg- fol. 18.
ment *English men p[utt in] passion regard no law of God nature or civility in theyr speach or manner of proceeding:* and least perchance this proposition shold seeme to fayle in himselfe, who found it in this his evilly intitled epistle of pious grief, he hath shewed small regard to law of God, nature or civility by his manifest vntruthes, defaming his contry, and most folish exclamations against such as for any thing we know are his equalls, and if not his betters no way his inferiors. His vntruthes are, that we repyne at authority to w^ch^ all our contry knoweth we did yeald, so sone as we saw any letters from his holines: to whom only in spirituall causes we owe obedyence. Secondly he sayth that our book was dedicated to his holines w^t^howt any name putt vnto it: w^ch^ is in this manner: Declaratio etc Ad S. D. N. Clementem 8^m^ exhibita ab ipsis sacerdotibus qui schismatis aliorumq' criminum sunt insimulati. A declaration etc. put up to o^r^ holy father, pope Clement 8th of that name, by those priests, who are accused of schisme and other crymes: of w^ch^ priestes the names of 30 are particularly sett downe, pa: 119. His taxing of all his countrymen that being putt in passion, they regard no law of God, nature, or civility in theyr proceeding, sheweth how he sinneth against nature, and vpon a conceyt (most foolish also and false) that we rayse contentions against the Jesuites and Archpriest, he exclaymeth in this sorte: O that it were not against Jesus himselfe. If his wisdome cold see y^t^ a booke written by O. C. might take quotations owt of our writinges against the misdemeanors of the Jesuites, and that this was not to be liked of, can he think that S. N. can escape margent of any book, written by any as impudent [as] himselfe: in witnes that such priestes as have a long time adven[tured] more for Jesus than the Jesuits

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54, f. 410. have done, shold now become Aposta[tes] and rayse contention against Jesus himselfe: or that such priestes who have been knowen to have susteyned the heate of persecution with no other resolution then hath become Catholick priestes (when as the Jesuites dared not to shew themselves, or w^th^ that timorousnes as they thought every houre a day vntill they retorned to some morall safety for themselves) now to be by S. N. noted for men of a dishonorable resolution, if occasion should serve, and to bring Catholickes into perill of losse eyther of theyr lives or of theyr soules? Can we, if eyther we resist the law of god as priestes, or of nature as men, or of civility as living among others, heare our selves thus defamed, other mens soules depending vpon theyr good opinion of vs, our selves of yeares to vse reason in our actions and not of so meane bringing vp, especially the greater parte, and be silent? Are we not in all mens iudgments (except S. N. and his fellowes who could perchance make a better benefitt by our silence) bound to purge our selves in this case, our adversaries pressing vs still most falsly that we repyne at authority and seeking to enforme the world thus of vs, w^thowt shewing any acte of our disobedyence except our forbearing to submitt ourselves before there was cause why we shold: yow shewing no letters from his holines for yo^r^ authority? Doe you cease to publishe or manteyne these vntruthes against vs, and we will attende the decyding of this controversy, where it ought to be. But if yow shall eyther yo^r^selfe publishe bookes of this arguement, or beare others out therein: yow must thinke that we must take yo^r^ edictes to the contrary, as most vniust in themselves, yo^r^ practise explaining them, that all may be sayd and published by w^ch^ we may be brought into infamy: and that nothing is to be divulged by vs by w^ch^ we may be cleared from it: perswade yo^r^selfe that notw^th^-standing yow are the first of our coate who hath been in the authority of an Archpriest here in England (a matter much vrged by yo^r^ flatterers) is no such priviledge, but that yow may erre as grossly in yo^r^ actions as Aron did and Saul, both imediatly chosen

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by God: the one to the highest priesthood; the other to the kingdome over his people; George Blackwell by the grace of God, and the ordinance of the Sea Apostolick, Archpriest of England, yow were preferred by falshood etc, the motive of yo^{r} authority apeareth in the Cardinalls letters. And if the pope him[self] did preferre yow, he preferred one whom he knew not. And thus farre, Reverend S^{r}, we have emboldened our selves to signify vnto yow the many iniustices of yo^{r} last edict against the divulging or reteyning such bookes as are to cleare vs of the many and iniurious slanders daily spreadd against vs: how also notw^{t}hstanding this yo^{r} edict against the divulging or reteyning any bookes of this arguement, there is an epistle, intituled of pious griefe, written by S. N. to his frend, and divulged by order from you, as by all likelyhood we may thinke: it being in theyr handes, who wold not else have it: w^{c}h epistle argueth . . . earnest desire, that the readers shold yet conceyve worse of vs (yf worse they can) then heretofore they have, as we see have shewed owt of diverse places quoted owt of the epistle called *of pious griefe* but in very deed of a wicked and very frivolous discourse, and such as may aswell, perchance much better be applyed to the writer thereof and his parte, then to vs. ffare yow well. 54, f. 410b

Yo^{rs} as you are in will to deserve
of vs the vniustly defamed priestes.

Concordat cum originali,
Wllm. Clerke.

2. *Letter from Dr. William Gifford to his Sister.* 54, f. 242.

Dec. 17. 1601.

Right wo^{r}ship^{ll} my lovinge sister.

I was very glad by this gentleman to vnderstande of yo^{r} welfare and by his returne to have occasion to salute you, being amongst other afflictions incident to my longe exile and banishment an extreeme greefe that I could not, nor this 30 yeares did have,

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ordinary intercourse or communication w^th^ my neere friends and kinred, w^ch^ I impute chiefly to those who by stratagemes and crafty devises have wrongfully made me hatefull to our prince and estate, by abvsing my name in those practises in w^ch^, as Christ knoweth, I never had any parte. ffor as I am a Catholicke, and so will for ever continue by gods speciall assistance: so I ever detested these violent and b[l]oody spiritts who continually and unnaturally practise against theyr prince and contry, and seeke to expose to the spoyle of forayners by vniust invasion and conquest all sorts of people of what religion soever. And I wold be very sory that you my good sisters or any other my Catholicke friends shold of simplicity be intangled w^th^ any such persons, who to bringe theyr purposes to passe, you to reape the lucre and gaine or to have themselves accownted negotiators and dealers in great affayres, do letle aseeme to indanger Catholicke gentlemen and to bringe [them] to vtter ruyne, doe irritate and exasperate the prince; and by folishe bookes, lewde pamphletts and intercourse of dangerous letters w^ch^ theyr companions on this syde doe make . . .[a] the burden of bloody lawes vntollerable, w^ch^ the prince and estate are forced to make for theyr owne security. You easily[a] who I meane, and for Gods sake take speciall care of, least a fayre shew of a goodly mind and profession deceyve yow and leade you into thraldome before you be aware. Informe yo^r^ selfe arryght w^th^owt passion or partiality who they be that have sente in men to attempte against the sacred person of o^r^ prince: who they be, that negotiate abroad for forraine invasion and conquests, and vnnaturally seeke to arme strangers to the overthrow of theyr naturall contry, from whom all these folishe bookes of titles and right [to] the Crowne, of particular mens lives or such, like have proceeded: who they be that vainly promise reformation or rather subversion of the state; and when you have found who they be, eschew them as dangerous to yo^r^ soule, pernicious to yo^r^ body, enemyes to theyr contry and infamous to our religion; and serve your turne of those Catholicks who in

[a] Some word apparently omitted here.

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true humility and Christian duty to theyr prince (saving theyr religion and conscience to God) w^th^ an Apostolicall spiritt doe seeke w^th^ zeale the only winninge of soules, and as well by exem- **54**, f. 242b.
plary life, as by true . . . . [a] the consciences of those w^th^ whom they deale, and by . . . . [a] ministration of the sacraments doe augment the num[ber] . . . . [a] people, and pray hartely and sincerely for theyr prince [and] contry. [By] such men you shall reape comforte and no danger of body and soule, nor heynous offence to yo^r^ prince: And if [you] indure, it shall . . . . [b] mere matter of religion and conscie[nce] w^ch^ is most honorable and meritorious. And w^th^ this my [dear] sister I make an ende, commendinge you and yo^rs^ to the ho[ly] protection of him who spente his sacred blowd on the crosse for vs all. ffrom my house in Lisle this 17. [of] Decemb^r^ 1601.

Yo^r^ loving brother and faithfull fr[end] for ever
William Gifforde

Endorsement (*on back of fol.* 434, *misplaced*):

17 Dec 1601
Dr. Gifford to his sister to take heed of the Jesuits

3. *Copy of letter from Cecil to Mush.* **54**, f. 390.

Worsh. good S^r^

I have written vnto yow by the way yow desired at yo^r^ departure; w^th^in 3 dayes thereof I visited in yo^r^ names mon^sr^ Ville[roi] who was not ignorant both of the time and fully informed of yo^r^ company. It seemeth that acte of yo^rs^ hath been so vrged, w^th^ former impressions made of o^r^ good frends yo^r^ companions, y^t^ yow must of necessity carry yo^r^ selves w^th^ great simplicity and sincerity: yow to reteyne that yow have, and they to gaine that they have lost. When I shall be assured of the safe passage of o^r^ letters I will sende yow a letter and discourse, by w^ch^ you may discover that yo^r^

[a] MS. mutilated. [b] Obliterated.

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oldest companion, sive iure sive iniuria nescio, is thought to have been overbusy and lesse gratefull and loving then becometh a man of his coate and calling. I have not seen the man that convayd yow to yo^{r} coach at yo^{r} departure hence: but once or twice sithence: he is all w^{t}h him that yow bidd not adieu and burned his letter: w^{c}h two acts of discurtesy are daily vrged. It will fall out, as I allwayes told yow, that it is a thing impossible to doe effectually what yow and m^{r} Bluet also in his to vs, requireth of me w^{t}howt offence of that party: yet will I provyde that on my parte no occasion shall be offered but that only w^{c}h yow all have imposed vpon me. I deale now imediately w^{t}th o^{r} best frend who vseth me very both kindly and respectively. We can deale no further here till we heare what termes you stande on: what may be hoped there and procured here for the further pursuite of o^{r} affayres: yow know where o^{r} articles are in o^{r} frends handes but as yet vnaunswered. Commend me hartely to yo^{r} 2 companions, the 2 Bennetts especially, m^{r} Ed . . ,[a] m^{r} Charnock, m^{r} Collington and y^{e} rest: and if yowe please frequent and communicate, yow Romanes that haue borne pondus et æstus diei together, w^{t}h all freedome and fidelity There hath been of late one Redman owt of fflanders, who w^{t}h R Twist is sent back by D Bag[shaw] and m^{r} Cunsta[ble] for D Weston and D Smith. M^{r} Morgan likewise hath been here w^{t}h D^{r} Bagsh: whose mother is a Skidmo^{r}: he wente away likewise w^{t}h letters good store towards fflanders. I write to m^{r} Bluet of an oath, w^{c}h m^{r} Hill wold have us sende yow and tender here to the Embassado^{r}: but we pawse till we heare from yow.

I doe what I can to excuse and take away all suspicions, as that of yo^{r} going together I sought to excuse by a reporte that one of Abvil made of yo^{r} seperation: 2 to Bologna and 2 into Calice, w^{c}h was controlled by the Lievetenant of Caliz w^{c}h wrote to Mons^{r} Villeroy, that yow were fewer that imbarked there.

In m^{r} Bluets letters diverse things were misconstrued, as his writing that he left me there to excuse him (satis, sayd they, pro

[a] Paper damaged.

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authoritate), his giving first Ecc^{a} and then D. Ils^{ma} w^{ch} was sayd to be ab equis ad asinos. I seeke what I can to excuse and satisfy and keep all in good conceyt: and all is too litle. If yow heare of m^{r} Dud: commend me to him, as to S. Ken:, yo^{r} most loving and vertuous hostesse vnknowen, and the rest o^{r} brethren. I hope m^{r} Anthony will not starte, from whom I expect to heare often. I write this for all: for [a mu]ltitude of letters multiply paines and perill and care to no purpose.

N. Litt. [?] as I am informed hath forsaken o^{r} best frend at Rome. The last post is drowned, w^{ch} maketh me app^{r}hende o^{r} papers w^{ch} probably shold have come w^{t}th him: and to yo^{r} good prayers I most humbly recommend me. If I happen to come for a starte into England wryte of whom and in what prison I may inquire of you. Valete in Chr̄o **54, f. 390b.**

Yo^{r}^{s} as you know to vse

J. Cecyll.

Whatsoever I say on purpose is as farre as may be mis-con[strued] as my desyre to wryte to yow p^{r}sently w^{t}hin three dayes when I knew how hardly yo^{r} going in that company was construed, was wondered at what occasion I could have of so sodaine writing. Also to yo^{r} self as I perceyve it was vrged that I pe . . . ed and proposed things my selfe disliked: w^{ch} is not so admirable, if one contrary to his owne iudgm^{t} conforme himselfe to the opinion of maney, especially where the differenee is of the time, and not of the matter. In fine yo^{r} visits, yo^{r} conference and the rest are here vrged, and I come to know of that w^{ch} I take not to be true, viz yo^{r} intrinsecall dealing w^{t}h him, of whom I have heard yow say 1000 times that in his life he never did a good turne to vs or our cause: yo^{r} wisdome, discretion and good behavio^{r} and vnyon at home will breake the neck of all these critices.

To his worsh: good frende M^{r} Jo: Mush or in absence
to M^{r} Anthony Champney give these.

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54, f. 391. 4. *Copy of letter from Cecil to Watson. Jan. or Feb.* 1602.

Good M^r^ Watson, I cannot but acknowledge your loving letter, albeit, that by yow in printe, and by you in p^r^sence of o^r^ supreme iudges in o^r^ late controversyes, I have had my patience very extraordinarily exercised. I have towards yow performed the parte of a frend in place where pregnant perill was thereto annexed: w^c^h good office being of you so frendly accepted I cannot but correspond and give contentm^t^ to yo^r^ desyre of intercourse. Setting asyde then all ceremonyes and needles complem^ts^, this I must advertise yow, that from henceforth yow conferre with o^r^ brethren, and make your election of some one man to whom you may direct yo^r^ letters: for yo^r^ last indorsed to so many was not so gratefull. M^r^ D^r^ Bagshaw or M^r^ Hill, eyther of them, are men whom yow know yow are beholden to, and may vse w^t^thowt all offence in a farre greater matter. If you please to send yo^r^ letters in a cover to y^e^ Embass: it will be farre more acceptable domi forisque and we lesse beholden to base companyons. O^r^ brethren at their departure hence desyred me, no wayes inclined to stay behinde them of my selfe, to stay here and to deale in theyr affayres w^t^h this K.[a] I desyre yow to sounde herein the minde and opinion of o^r^ estate: for vnles they like both of the negotiation, and of the person: I will in no case medle with theyr disliking. Yow may also if yow please desyre o^r^ brethren to interteyne no kinde of negotiation, directe or indirecte, offensive to y^e^ state.

I take that m^r^ Hill or D Bagsh: are farre more proper for this place then my selfe: ffor to tell yow plainly my desyre is rather domi consuescere, if I may vnderstand by yow that I may have any oversight, or may be admitted to that grace my companions have obteyned.

[a] This letter seems to have been written from Paris before Cecil resolved to take part in the deputation to Rome. His three companions left Paris on Jan. 1, and the letter was probably written early in the same month, notwithstanding the endorsement of the copyist.

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There passed this way of late one Way: who reported that yow had renounced yo^{r} priesthood, and all exercise thereof, w^{ch} were to deare a price of yo^{r} favo^{r} and liberty: and in any case ne incidas in Syllam cupiens vitare Charibdin. Yow wryte of artycles, but none apeare We have conceyved here an oath of obedyence w^{ch}, if others sende not, yow shall have wth the nexte. yo^{r} tracte, as apeareth by Mr. Bluetts, pleaseth not him. yow may vse me in all confidence and assurance Usque ad aras

J. Cecyll.

[*At foot of page:*] [To my] very loving ffrend
[M^{r}] Watson
give these

[*Endorsed, same hand as copy:*] ffeb 1602
A copy of D. Cecylls lr̄es to M^{r} Mush and M^{r} Watson

5. *From Dr. Bagshaw to William Watson.* 54, f. 243.

Feb. 7, 1602.

Good M^{r} Will^{m} I have redd your Quodlibets over, & have asked the iudgement of diverse. The style is misliked for the bitterness, & I pray you hereafter have greate care & moderation, for I can assure you so bitinge a style dothe not good. Much good matter I finde, & if it had bene whote[a] only in yt place where your harte was as hyghe as your heade for infaminge owr matters I coulde well have liked it.

What letters come in yours see them delivered. I hope your creditt & mine will serve to have them safely conveyed. Att leasure I pray you deale wth my L.[b] to whom I have writte[n] the Spanishe faction is on foote & fierce for expectation of future matters. We must have good supporte. If the LL. of her ma^{tyes} Cownsayle will deale wth the Embassador to

[a] *Sic*, for "hot"?

[b] The Bishop of London.

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come or sende to the secretarie heere present to further vs, we shall doe well.

Heere very wise men will not be persuaded but some greate persons ar Spanified, althoughe yow answeare yt poynte in the ende of your booke, and therfore our sendinge over was not to benefitt our country or procure ease to owre cawse but only for a showe to shifte of the time.

Have care of Framlingham & of all our friends there. The remoove of some of them was promised.

I pray you write or speake to M^r^ Churche y^t^ he sende hyther assone as may be.

I will performe yt w^ch^ you write of me & your selfe & the thirde person.[a]

54, f. 243b. M^r^ Bluett wrote to my L. for to be a meanes for sendinge owr letters by M^r^ Winwoode,[b] for that we ar driven to sende otherwise hande over heade. I marvayle we have no answeare. I pray you deale very earnestly w^th^ my L. for M^r^ Barnbye, who in truthe did more than we all in flanders & was able to relate as muche as M^r^ Bluett coulde have done & perhaps more. His liberty & perhapps returne were very necessary. It mighte be a good occasion, when he might presently be freed, to bringe vs monye & worde of all things & to goe w^th^ me to flanders, if neede shall be, and afterwards to Rome. I pray yow sollicite this instantlye.

Some passages of your booke make me of good hope as of a college of oure owne to cowntervayle the Spanishe seminaries. What hope of toleracion at least for vs, whose fidelyty I hope is not dowbted of, sende worde. It encowrageth & gladdeth for the time.

By M^r^ Barnby or some other convenient messenger lett me heare assone & as lardgely as yow can.

[a] In the margin are four lines in another hand, tantalisingly illegible by erasure. "This 3^rd^ pson was Mr. . . ." etc.

[b] Ralph Winwood, agent of Queen Elizabeth at the French Court.

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Pray harde for vs. W^th commendacions to all the honest gentlemen w^th yow, M^r Pigott, M^r Kempe, M^r Ledyo [?] w^th the rest.

I promised M^r Cole the messanger one of owr books. I did not performe it. I pray you supplye it & commend me to him.

We heare of new preparations in Spayne. Leasure serveth not further. 54, f. 244.

Paris vii° febr. yours ever
C. B.

I have written to M^r Clerke, M^r Leake, M^r Bennetts, M^r Smithe, M^r Hebburne, M^r Barnbye, M^r Doleman, M^r Churche, M^r Dudleye, M^r Charnocke, M^r Copleye, Seal them all w^ch be unsealed, & deliver them.

I had thowghte to have sent them all unsealed but it fell owt otherwise. In any case lett them be delivered. There is nothing but ordinarye matters.

I would my L. of London were nowe & then by, when we have talke of him w^th some of the byshopps & nobles heere.

J. Bennetts comminge hath done good to owres & made it more spoken of, & a number of quæstions to be asked abowte my L. who is taken for a speciall meanes therof used by her Ma^tye.

6. *Drafts of Six Memorials to the Pope.* 47, f. 272.

I. CECIL'S TESTIMONIALS AND APOLOGY.

Beatissime Pater

Placuit xpianissimo Regi hoc tempore, et cum hisce meis fratribus et in castris dñi commilitonibus, me S^ti tuæ per legatum suum recomendare, tum quod ei de zelo meo in causa fidei catholicæ promovendæ sine aliqua rerum politicarum mixtura abunde fuit satisfactum, data huius examinis occasione a legato Angliæ, qui me hoc nomine apud Regem christianissimum accusavit tanquam nimis familiarem ijs qui politicum Angliæ statum perturbarunt, tum quod apud eum frequentissime et instantissime egeram vt interposita eius apud senatores Angliæ authoritate cum eis ageret

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vt legum severitatem quibus catholici in re religionis et conscientiæ negotijs premebantur, aut antiquando, aut alterando, aut moderando edictorum acerbitatem reprimeret, liberumque relinqueret catholicis Romanæ Ecclesiæ ritu aut publice aut saltem privatim dño deo eiusque sanctis inservire: quem ita paratum et affectum hac mea opera et diligentia invenit R^mus^ epus Mutinensis, tunc temporis in Gallijs Nuncius, vt nihil præter S^tis^ tuæ imperium et authoritatem ad opus tam sanctum perficiendum desideraretur; verum dum adhuc in incude res esset, discedit Nuncius, refrigescit negotium, donec isti boni sacerdotes in Galliam appellantes eovsque Regis animum ad pietatem flexerant, vt pristini mei desiderij de catholicis iuvandis explendi spem non contemnendam dederit. Quod si S^tl^ tuæ hæc via facilior [et expeditior visa fuerit ad catholicorum levandas miserias, et fidem propagandam] [a] . . . . .

. . . . . .

aperiemus quibus medijs, rationibus et conditionibus hæc a Rege christianiss^mo^ in Dei gloriam, ecclesiæ utilitatem et catholicorum favorem impetrari poterint. Sin minus huc ad pedes S^tis^ tuæ accessimus, quicquid statueris, iusseris, decreveris, non solum æquo sed alacri animo laturi, eamque submissionis et obedientiæ promptitudinem in reliquis nostris fratribus effecturi . . . . et, si quid in reliquo vitæ nostræ cursu humanitus erratum aut peccatum fuerit, censuris et supplicio colla subdituri: jube, coge, impera, homines sumus, errare, labi, falli, decipi possumus; at authoritatem tuam subterfugere, post tam diuturnam, constantem et continuam eius professionem et pro ea perpassiones non possumus.

[Q^d^ si S^tas^ v'ra communi omnium catholicorum consensu et clamoribus excitata velit paulisper experiri quid istiu[s] commodi ecclesiæ exoriri poterit] [b]

ad pedum tuorum oscula humillime prostratus
Io: Cecilius sacerdos Anglus.

[a] The clause within brackets partially erased, and the two or three lines indicated by dots entirely erased. [b] Added in the margin.

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Ne ficta videantur quæ in relatione ista continentur, aut a cerebro meo deprompta ad captandam gratiam aut S^tis^ tuæ lenitatem et clementiam abvtendam, singulis propositionibus singula testimonia affigenda existimavi. 47, f. 272b.

Quod a legato Angliæ apud Regem christ: accusatus fuerim de nimia familiaritate cum ijs qui statum Angliæ politicum perturbant habeo penes me litteras Ill^mi^ Card. Surdiaci,[a] dum esset in minoribus, idipsum attestantes, quibus addi potest R^mi^ dñi Abatis S^ti^ Martini, Dñi Conestabili Angli, aliorumque gravissimorum virorum notitia.

Quod rursus in gratiam Regis fuerim receptus testantur eius literæ, quibus nos Regibus principibus et Rebusp: in itinere commendavit: testis est etiam Eccellentiss^us^ dñs de Betune legatus Galliæ qui Regis animum ea de re optime novit.

Quod non nisi rogatus et plurimorum in Anglia catholicorum literis et lamentis excitatus, et ab ipo R^mo^ Nuntio iussus, apud Regem eiusque ministros causam cath. tractaverim, ipsum produco R^mum^ Nuncium tanquam oculatum testem, litterasque et chirographum penes me habeo materna lingua omni suspitione aut exceptione liberas.

De exitu et progressu negotij testem cito R^mum^ Mutinensem qui vt Romam ea de re scriberem iussit, et quid inde responsi habuerim proferam in huius veritatis fidem.

II. PETITION OF THE FOUR PRIESTS FOR VIATICUM. 47, f. 273.

Beat^mo^ Pater

Cum pro singulari tua in nos æquitate et amore paterno ad eam tandem sint reducta negotia nostra periodum vt de reditu nostro ad castra dñi et vexilla xpi in Anglia sit cogitandum, cumque S^tas^ vestra satis superque sit informata quam sit curta suppellex, quantumque sumus ad tam longum laboriosum et sumptuosum iter imparati, nisi charitatis et clementiæ tuæ nobis pateant

[a] François d'Escoubleau de Sourdis, created cardinal in 1592.

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fontes, petimus humillime vt S^ta^ v. dignetur in viatico nobis subministrando considerare hiemem iam instare et ex nostris aliquos esse valetudine infirma, alios ætate confectos, alios satis provectos omnes laboribus et miserijs exhaustos neque posse nos aut pedibus aut adeo properanter sicut solent illi quibus ordinarium porrigitur viaticum iter conficere, sed maiora tum subsidia tum solatia tum laborum intervalla et ætati et infirmitati nostræ et hiemis asperitati esse necessaria, quæ omnia S^tis^ v. clementiæ et considerationi relinquimus.

47, f. 274. III. THEIR DESIRE FOR PEACE, AND RECAPITULATION OF GRIEVANCES.

Beatissime P:

Quicquid a nobis hactenus est propositum de Gravaminibus Archypr., de Incommodis ipsius regiminis, de Considerationibus ad pacem spectantibus, de Refutatione responsi exhibiti a p: Parsono contra prædictas Considerationes, ex nullo alio fonte prodijsse protestamur quam ex zelo pacis ve[r]æque fraternitatis et ex intimis perfectæ charitatis visceribus, vt remotis ijs impedimentis quibus ecclesiæ quæ in Anglia est salus periclitatur, ardentius et alacrius (datis vndeque dextris) qui in vinea dñi laborant operarij ad hæreseos extirpationem et animarum conversionem accingantur. Liceat itaque nobis libere profiteri quod res est S^me^ P., et considerationi v'ræ relinquere quatuor illa capita, fusius in illis nostris scriptis contenta, scz., de persona Archipri deque eius prælatura, quibus stantibus, nulla pax, nulla moderatio, nulla potest sperari animorum vnio; de eleemosynarum distributione et illarum rationibus reddendis de magistratuum electionibus annuis, et de statuum et ordinum distinctione vt suo se quisque loco et statione contineat, neque se vlterius Jesuitæ misceant quam solent alij religiosi alijs alibi ecclesiasticis ordinibus: quod ad nos attinet quicquid S^tas^ statuerit, decreverit, iusserit, ordinaverit, certum est obedire et intellectum captivare, verum si controuersiarum fontes et scaturigines patris Parsoni et suorum

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oppositione intactæ vel non prorsus . . . . relinquan[tur], æque certum est ex ijsdem malis causis eosdem malos effectus . . . . esse expectandos: nam non potest ecclesia Anglorum non graui ferre et multum in Jesuitas commoueri, cum intellexerint . . . . rationes pro bono communi et publica pace a no . . . . vestræ S^ti propositas paucorum illorum religiosorum renitent . . . . privatisque commodis . . . . optato exitu frustrari.

IV. PETITION FOR PUBLIC INSTRUMENT IN TESTIMONY OF THEIR INNOCENCE OF SCHISM.[a] 47, f. 275.

Beatissime p:

Significauimus per litteras nostras S^tis v'ræ declarationem qua ab omni rebellionis aut inobedientiæ crimine ob delatam ante Brevis apostolici adventum Archipr: submissionem liberabantur, quo nuncio mirifice refocillati statuerunt perpetuo in hac causa et controuersia quiescere. At libri, litteræ, discursus et rumores a p. Personio suisque sequacibus indies ubique dispersi calumniarum istarum memoriam vbique acerbissime refricantes et filiorum suorum spiritus . . . [datæ declarationis veritatem pernegantes][b] timoratæ conscientiæ et de preteritis confessionibus suis valde incertæ, nisi fide publica et autentica illis aliquo modo satisfiat, cogunt illos humillime ad S^tis v'ræ pedes clementissimos confugere petereque innocentiæ suæ et æquitatis, verbo vestro iamdudum et viva voce pontificia iamdudum declaratæ, testimonium aliquod et instrumentum publicum: alias certissime recrudescet uulnus, nullusque erit vnquam aut modus aut finis contentionum dum illi accusando [negando nostram declarationem] et calumniando [innocentiam nostram] nos autem affirmando, defendendo et refutando, totum orbem scriptis et clamoribus impleamus donec eveniat, q^d prædixit apostolus, vt dum ab invicem mordemus ab invicem consumamur.

[a] See above, pp. 11, 146.

[b] Inserted above the line.

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47, f. 276. V. PETITION FOR THE RELEASE FROM CAPTIVITY AND FOR A FAIR TRIAL OF ROBERT FISHER.

Beatiss^me^ p:

Cum in Hispaniis (in libera licet custodia) captivus tamen detineatur Joannes[a] Fisherus sacerdos Anglus, S^tis^ v^rm^ diu alumnus in collegio Anglicano in Urbe, vir omni virtutum, linguarum et

[a] "John" must be a slip of the pen for "Robert." There was no John Fisher at the English College at this date. Robert, who took a principal part in the drawing up of the memorial against the Jesuits, came to Rheims in March 1590, and was admitted at the age of twenty-two into the college at Rome July 8, 1593. He left in May 1596, when he was busy with the affairs of the malcontent clergy, both in England and on the continent. Dr. Barret, who was watching his movements and hoping to get him apprehended in Belgium, wrote to Parsons, Aug. 10, 1597, as follows: "Very loving and reverend Father, this I wryte at Liege where I am in my way homeward [from Spa to Rheims]. There passed by this towne one Fisher, that was sent by the seditious schollers into England, from hence he went to Bruxelles, thence to Lisle, and so to Doway, and thence to Cambray. He hath bin, as I am informed, in every shire in England to styrre up men against Jesuits and Spaniards, which he uttered to a good man in this towne. I marvaile he escaped at Bruxels, seing they are advertised out of England of his secret conference with a cheefe man of the councel of England & with Sacheverel the Apostata in the said councelors house. Heere he tould one in great secret, that he was to go to M. Ch. Pa[get] and D. Gifford, and to M. Morgan about matters of importance, he said also that they were in good hope to have liberty of conscience in England in case they might get the Jesuits thence, no doubt this is one part of his busynes, he left his bag at Liege & I have seene it, yet nothing of importance therin, saving *a little compendious note* of all their Articles against the Jesuits at Rome which he carried with him to dilate to the faction in England as appereth, for it is very old and almost worne out. [This note was rather brought out of England. As after will appeare. *Parsons' marginal note.*] I am to go to Bruxels and to make means to have the man examined, in case he may be found; before he return to this towne, for he is to come back hither & to one in this place, he was at his going into England earnestly commended by D. Gifford, &c." Some months afterwards Fisher reappeared in Rome, "half converted," writes Parsons, and "willingly offered himself" at the English College, where he was put through an examination extending over several days by the Papal fiscal. In this examination he made many statements, which are printed by Parsons in his *Apologie* (ff. 94–97), to the discredit of the anti-Jesuit party. These statements, which Parsons admitted were not altogether trustworthy, were said by Dr. Ely to have been extorted from "the miserable fellow" by fear of the gallies or the gallows; and Bagshaw declares that Parsons had threatened "to put hot irons

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bonarum litterarum panoplia si quis alius in toto clero Anglicano excultissimus, ita vt castellæ [Castiliæ ?] limites exilire non audeat et iam pæne per septennium summa cum patientia tam durum iugum sustinuit, nullo suo delicto sed p. Personij potentia et artificio sibi impositum, tantæ indignitatis et iniustitiæ rumore perculsi fratres nostri et alij pæne infiniti tam in Anglia quam extra Angliam Catholici, et vineam Dñi tam strenuo et ægregio operario in tanta literatorum penuria et paucitate privari ægerrime ferentes, petunt humillime vt v. S. dignetur Card. Burghesio hoc in mandatis dare vt vestro nomine ad Nuncium in Hispanijs degentem scribat vt dictum Joannem Fisherum Romam mittat ad S^tis^ v. tribunal sistendum, vt si quid fecerit homine catholico et sacerdote Anglo indignum salutari pœnitentia coerceatur, sin minus vt ad pugnam et palæstram Anglicanam tanquam veteranus et benemeritus miles restituatur, quem solum supremum et immediatum vt Anglocatholicus, vt sacerdos, vt alumnus superiorem agnoscit.

VI. FURTHER PETITION FOR PECUNIARY AID.

Beatiss^me^ p:

Cum singularis S^tis^ v. charitas et summa sollicitudo etiam ad minutissima se extendat, ita vt non solum de negotijs nostris expediendis, sed de necessitatibus etiam sublevandis paterno quodam affectu pijssime cogitet idque nobis significari voluerit: ab hominibus S^ti^ v'ræ charissi^mis^ nobisque amicissimis: tamdiu S^ti^ v'ræ molesti esse in hoc genere abstinuimus quamdiu rerum et causarum nostrarum exitum in dies expectavimus, licet ad hoc tantum conficien . . . iter et sustinendos sumptus præter piorum elemosynas et suppellectilem vestesque sacras præconis voce venditas nihil habuimus (quippe qui pro sedis huius dignitate alijs

to his arms" to get him to say what he did. Fisher had been apparently banished into Spain, and kept under restraint there for the past five and a half years, not "seven years," as in this petition; and the Appellants now pray for his release and a fresh trial in the belief that when free from undue influence he would give a truer and more favourable colour to the conduct of his friends.

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omnibus beneficien[tiis] aut patrimoniorum commodis priuemur). Verum iam cum (vt maturiori inditio et examine concludantur omnia) St^i v'ræ placuit moram longiorem negotijs nostris imponere, coacti etiam sumus necessitates nostras exponere, cum numero sumus 4, et post tot et tam assiduos sumptus reliqui nihil nisi ut ad viscera et fonte[s] charitatis v'ræ iussi, vocati et invitati confugiamus et vim pudori et modestiæ nostræ faciam[us] Deus O. M. clementiss^am Beat^nem v. eccl'æ suæ diutissime incolumem co[nservet]

B^mæ pater^tis v.
filii obedientes [a]
Joēs Cæcilius
Tho. Bluettus
Joēs Musius
Anthonius Champneus
} quatuor sacerdotes Angli

47, f. 276b.

7. *Six Propositions of Mr. Giles Archer.*

Assertiones [b] Egidii Archerij Sacerdotis Angli, qui nunc in Vrbe est, quas publice proposuit in carcere Wisbicensi, affirmantis se ex animo et deliberatè illas asserere.

P^a.

Lupanaria Romæ sunt ibi cum approbatione.

2^a.

Lupanaria sunt equè licita atque aliquis Ciuis Romanus.

3^a.

Lupanaria sunt Romæ equè licita atque aliquis Magistratus Ciuitatis.

[a] The following names erased and "quatuor sacerdotes Angli" substituted.

[b] These "lewd assertions" of Mr. Giles Archer are the subject of much comment in Bagshaw's *True Relation* (Reprint, p. 65). They are here written on the back of the foregoing draft in an Italian hand.

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4ª.

Sunt ibi æquè licita, atque Papa ipse, uel aliquis Ordo Religiosorum.

5ª.

Lupanaria sunt maximè necessaria.

6ª.

Sunt ibi uel eorum [aliqua ?] esse ibi equè licita, atque aliquis Ciuis uel Magistratus.

Responsio et distinctio D'ni Edmundi Jesuitæ qui tunc erat in carcere Wisbicen.

Mag^r Archerius uult dicere et intelligere Lupanaria esse Romæ cum approbatione æquè licita atque aliquem Ciuem, Mag'ratum, Ordinem Religiosorum uel Papam, sed non peccatum simplicis fornicationis. Postera die dixit idem Archerius se uelle defendere istas propositiones contra quemcumque et se deliberatè et ex animo istas asseruisse.

Dñs Egidius Archerius assertor harum propositionum Romam uenit, et manet in Collegio Anglorum.

8. *Papal Definition on the question of Schism.* **47, f. 383.**

Anno D. 1602. Apr [11–15].

Cum a sacerdotibus anglicanis qui se Appellantes vocant [Rom]æ S^mo D^o N. supplicatum fuisset suo sociorumque nomine, vt sua S^tas . . . [dec]larare atque determinare dignaretur hec duo: nimirum vtrum s[acerdotes] qui ante adventum Brevis Ap'lici subordinationi per literas Ill^mi C[ard]^lis Caietani institutæ subscribere distulerunt fuerint inobedientes rebelles, et schismatici an non: deinde vtrum confessiones Catholicorum ipsis interim factæ sint iterandæ necne? Ill^mi Card^les Burghesius atque Arrigonius, quibus causæ Angli-

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canæ cognitio a sua S^te^ commissa est, die prædicto retulerunt S^um^ D. N. die vndecimo eiusdem mensis atque anni his de rebus consultum respondisse:

De primo quidem standum esse ijs quæ in Brevi Ap'lico ad 17 Aug. anno 1601 edito his de rebus ordinata atque declarata sunt, nominatim vero vt habeatur ea tota controversia pro extincta atque obolita, silentio etiam imposito, idque sub Censuris in eodem Brevi expressis. De 2° vero, Confessiones catholicorum ipsis factas non esse iterandas si nullum aliud intervenerit impedimentum.

Hoc Scriptum ostensum est ipsis Ill^mis^ Card^bus^ supranominatis et ab ipsis penitus approbatum.

Die vero 15 eiusdem mensis et anni, consultus iterum S^mus^ prædictis Ill^mis^ Card^bus^ de eiusdem rebus respondit se nolle de illis amplius verba fieri sed voluntatem suam esse vt de præfatis controuersijs schismatis, rebellionis atque inobedientiæ, quæ ante primum Breve Ap'licum die 6 Apr: anno 1599 editum excitatæ sunt, omnimodum imponatur silentium ac post^ri^ suo Brevi 17 Aug 1601 edito stetur; idque sub prædictis censuris ne vlterius de his altercandi detur occasio. De ceteris vero quæ postea acciderunt respondit sua S^tas^ se deinceps rebus perpensis quæ magis ad æquitatem pacemque facient ordinaturum.

54, t. 236. 9. *Letter from Dr. William Bishop to Mr. Watson.*

16 July 1602.

Good S^r^, these same are to certify you that I have receaved yours, and sent the note, as I did once before to theire place. ours there loking . . . are differed to the Congregation of the Inquisition not for our harme, but for the ruine of Parsons subordination as Clem: tearmeth it. Yo^r^ books are without doubt (as we heare from all coastes) disgous . . . most blame the sharpnes of the stile, some certayne assertions perillous w^ch^ are in some of them, it may bee they bee none of yours, w^ch^ I advise you to

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certify to Rome in tyme, lest y^or^ honour be somewhat darkened by them. for some of them (as it is written from there) are like to be condemned to the fire. yf it please you to write to me or by mee, I will doe what I can for the performing of y^or^ . . . . you shall God willinge see our Answere vnto the Apology in printe.[a] Then you may the better printe yours, so that there bee noe dissonance. I pray you kepe mee in the good grace of your most honorable friends & your owne. & so with my most harty comends to you I committ you to God. the xvj of July at Par.

Yo^rs^ in our Lord
Will'm Byshop

I pray you send that to M^rs^ Percy to the addresse.

Endorsement (*same hand*):

To his very singular friend M^r^ Watson at my L. of Londons London

10. *Letter from Dr. Humphry Ely, probably to Sir Robert Cecil.*

Aug. 30, 1602.

Right honorable. **54**, *f.* 213.

The constant report that all trauellers giue out of yo^r^ affable and courtuous nature, in easelie and willingly admitting all suters to yo^r^ presence and myld hearing of their requeste haue emboldened me; but especially the desire I haue of the salfeguard of her Ma^te^ my princes person & estat, and good of my contrey (whereunto yo^r^ hono^r^, aboue the rest, hath a vigilant ey and earnest care) haue encoraged and invited me to trouble yo^r^ hono^r^ w^t^th these fewe lynes, and to aduertize yo^u^ of an accident that hath happened of late in this contrey of Lorraine, the brief narracion whereof yo^r^ hono^r^ shall receiue herein enclosed. By the w^c^h her Ma^tie^, yo^r^ hono^r^ and the rest of her Ma^tes^ honorable counsayll may perceiue, not onely that the secular priests and Catholick Gentlemen

[a] Perhaps Dr. Ely's book, printed at Paris. It contains separate "Answers" by, or on behalf of, Bishop himself, Bagshaw and Charles Paget.

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both at home and abrode do not carrie such a malicious hart to her Ma^tie or evell will to the state of our contrey as they haue been heretofore (through vniustlie & erroniously) thought and suspected to haue borne; and so under th[at] pretence haue erroniously beene putt to death and torments for the same. But also, whereas wee are still most ready (after a most meeke and Apostolicall manner) to suffer prisonments, torm^ts and death, very willingly for the profession of the Catholick and Romaine faith; so are wee also most ready and willing both at home and abroade to suffer imprisonm^t racks and death itself for the defence of o^r naturall & lawfull prince, of her life and estate, against all whosoeuer shall attempt anything against her royall person or Crowne, be he Spaniard, French, Scott, or whosoeuer els. And this o^r loyall fidelitie we haue not onely heretofore at all tymes and in all places protested in words, and by printed books testified to the wholl world, but also in fact and deed (as by the example of this worshipfull & reuerend priest [may] be seen and verified, of whose opinion & mind most of us . . . that are abroade) do presently vtter and declare, protesting furst[lye] that if hereafter (as God forbid) her Ma^tie or state should by any of the aboue named be invaded or distressed, wee shalbe ready to the shedding of th[e last dr]opp of o^r blood to defend the same and w^th armes to w^thstand and fyght against such invasors whosoeuer. This then being o^r finall & . . . conclusion to suffer p[atiently] wh[at] . . . [af]fliction soeuer the
54, f. 213b. tempo[ral] state shall putt upon us for o^r faith and religion, and beare courageously all the opprobies and iniuries some deceived catholicks doe heape upon vs for this o^r true and loyall affection and protestation, but also to carry willingly and ioyfully such afflictions as forreine princes for this o^r loyaltie shall putt vpon vs. Our case being thus miserable both at home and abroade; at home afflicted for o^r conscience, abrode persecuted for o^r fidelitie to our prince; I doubt not but if her Ma^tie knewe thus much, but of her naturall clemencie, and of her royall mercie, she would at the leaste make a distinction betwixt her naturall children and sub-

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jects that in all sinceritie doo hono[r] & reuerence her, and those unnaturall Bastards th[at] doo attend to nought els but conquests and invasions, by giving [them] leave to serue God freely and securely, in easing the yoke of her seuere laws enacted against them for their faith and conscience; for as yo[r] hono[r] doth knowe it is a rule of nature *qui in vno grauatur, in aliis debet subleuari*; seeing we are for o[r] professed loyaltie afflicted, [at] home by corrupted brethren, and abrode also by forreine pr . . . it should then be a great signe of her Ma[tes] clemencie to relei[ue] us w[t]h some tolleracion for o[r] consciences. Our dayly wishes and praiors are that it would please her Ma[tie] and her honorable Coun[sayle] to encline to clemencie, and graunt vs the free [vse] of [Religion?][a] for I doo protest in the name of all my brethren [Cath]olicks . . . . priests, and others that are not bent to any facti[on]; th . . ht [we are] so far of nowe, & heretofore haue beene, from [seeking] desiring or procuring the disquieting or ouerthrowing of h[er] Ma[tie] and the state, that I promisse for my self and them all [tha]t if wee sha[ll] understand of neuer so smale an ynckling of . . . or pretence against her Ma[tie] and her estat, th[at we will] not onlie be the first that shall discouer it to yo[r hono]r; but a[lso] to be the formost, by armes and other meanes to . . . . . to . . . . . nowe, if these o[r] actions and protestacions at home, and o[r] afflictions and sufferings abroade shall not be thought sufficient to trust vs hereafter, or to blott out the sinister and erronious opinions . . . . . state conceiued heretofore against us: we are most ready to give her Ma[tie] and the state all sure contentement, satisfaction, obligacion, and assurance of o[r] loyaltie & fidelitie . . . . . est of her honorable counsaill shall find and think needful, necessarie and expedient. Yf her Ma[tie] might, by yo[r] hono[rs] goodness and the singular care you haue of the quietnes and assurance of the Estate and of the prosperous raigne and life of o[r] prince, be acertayned and assured of her Catholick subjects good harts and entier intentions, no doubt it would moove her to pittie, clemencie, and

54, f. 214.

[a] MS. torn away here and in much of following page.

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mercie, and to grant vs libertie to serue God according to o^{r} conscience, and freely w^{t}hout feare of pursuyuants to offer vp o^{r} sacrifices, both for her long liue & [good] health and happy raigne also: as wee doo yet dailie notw^{t}hstanding the hott execution of her seuere laws. thus much touching o^{r} endeuo^{r}s and good intentions towards her M^{te} and the Estate.

Now w^{t}h yo^{r} pardon a word touching yo^{r} hono^{r}. It cannot be vnknowne to a man of y^{r} wisdome and experience but that by reason of yo^{r} place and high calling, of the singular abilities of yo^{r} person and of the favo^{r} that o^{r} prince beareth yo^{u}, yo^{u} are of many envied and maligned and hated not of a fewe. Besides, as I haue often heard by trauellers, the partizants and fauorers of the late seditious puritaine Erle doo beare yo^{r} hono^{r} in speciall, cancred harts, poysoned entrailes, and inspeakable hatred, swelling w^{t}h desired vengeance, wishing & hoping for a tyme of revenge, this being the common report, and not likely to be vntrue. Yf a stranger to yo^{r} hono^{r} (yet a faithfull servant and well willer both to you and yo^{r} familie) might be heard and credited, I would counsaill yo^{r} hono^{r} to fortifie and strengthen yo^{r} self not onely against all sorte of ennymyes and evell willers, but also against all their attempts and violence hereafter pretended whatsoever. Nowe a more surer and trustier, I will alsso add a more stronger, defence yo^{u} cannot haue either at home or abrode than to haue the catholick partie by yo^{r} benefitte, not onely highlie obliged but also most suerly and dearely linked and knitt to yo^{u}. It is generally thought . . . that yo^{r} hono^{r} may doo very much both in court and counsaill, and that yo^{u} may full safely (yf it would but please yo^{u} to put them to yo^{r} good will & affection) obteyne either libertie of conscience, . . . some tolleracion for y^{e} poore afflicted catholicks; w^{c}h if it should please yo^{u} to do, you should so binde them to yo^{r} hono^{r} that yo^{u} should not need to feare any ennymyes whosoever, either in her Ma^{te} life

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or after her death, either at home or abroade. the obligacion would be so greate that they would not onelie be reddie to thrust their bodies betweene yo^{r} hono^{r} and all danger, but would be also readie to die at yo^{r} feete in defence of yo^{r} person, hono^{r} and familie. Yo^{r} wisdome and judgem^{t} cannot but tell yo^{u} that all this I haue said is true, and that the Catholicks, for so great a benefitt received by yo^{r} meanes & favor, could not nor would not be ingrat. they would not onely entirely loone yo^{u}, but as to their defendor and protector, they would also carry all reuerence, respect, hono^{r}, and fidelitie. And this much in all their names, I do confidently promys yo^{u}. And besides by all other humaine meanes and obligacions that may be profitable, they shalbe redy to oblige and bind themselues to yo^{r} hono^{r} and yo^{r} familie. Would to God, I had so much grace and fauo^{r} w^{t}h yo^{r} hon[or] . . . I might w^{t}hout offence appeare before yo^{u}, and in your presence treate of this and much more that might tend to the liking [of] her mat^{tie} the conseruacion of the Estate, and to the defence of . . . person and familie, against all envious persons and all yo^{r} evell willers. yf yo^{r} hono^{r} shall like of this myne affection & good endeuors, and that it would please yo^{u} to give me accesse to yo^{r} presence and audience, vpon the leste significacion thereof made to her Ma^{te} Agent at Paris, and by him to a[nie] Catholick Gentleman theare, I shalbe soone w^{t}h yo^{r} hono^{r}[. In] the meane tyme, I doo hartely desire o^{r} sweet Saluio^{r} to encline yo^{r} hart to pittie o^{r} cause, and to haue due consideracion of our unfayned offers; and to deale so wisely and consideratly that all yo^{r} cogitacions may tende to the seruice of her Ma^{tie} to the easing of vs innocent Catholicks, and to the conseruacion of yo^{r} owne person, state & familie, against all that desire the ouerthrowe thereof. 54, *f.* 214b.

And thus crauing most humbly pardon if I haue beene ouerbould to trouble yo^{r} hono^{r}, after my most humble dutie, I

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leave yo^{r} hono^{r} to the tuition of the b. Trinitie. from Pont à Mousson in Lorraine

This 30th of August 1602

Yo^{r} hono^{rs} poore beadesman to serue you w^{t}h all fidelitie and to hono^{r} you vnfainedly.

Humfrey Ely, Docto^{r} and professor of the Lawes.

54, *f.* 228b. A Narrative by Dr. Ely (originally sent with the foregoing Letter).

M^{r} Arthur Pits, a worshipfull priest, was banished out of the Tower of London for his Religion amongst diuers others in the yeare 1585. comming into Lorraine, was receiued into the seruice of the Cardinal of Vaudemont, w^{t}h whom all his life he was in great fauo^{r} and creditt. After whose death, he was called to serue the Cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Lorraines sonne; whom he had serued w^{t}h great creaditt these 14 yeares, being his chancello[r] and deane of Liuerdun, who about the beginning of Julie las[t] was accused to the Cardinal by a Runagate Jesuist that he sh[ould] saie two things: the one, that wheare there was a bruit that [the] French king was at *Callais* w^{t}h an Army to conquo^{r} Ingland, M^{r} Pits should saie: That his desire was not that Ingland shou[ld] fall into his hands: th'other, that if the king of France should go into Ingland to conquo^{r} the same, and depose her Ma^{tie} his lawfull prince, that he would go into Ingland himself, and kill him theare, rather than he should depose her Ma^{tie}. Vpon this accusacion they weare both committed to prison, where they yet both remaine.

M^{r} Pits in his examinacion, and in his [justifications] confesseth that he said the first, not onely to this said Runagate Jesuist but to diuers others, bicause he would neither haue the French nor the Spaniard to rule and gouverne in o^{r} contrey, being

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mooued thereto by a naturall instinct and dutie w^ch he beareth to his prince and contrey; and that no good & [n]aturall Englishman should or could desire to be vnder a stranger, and the dispossession of his prince, who could not but desire . . . . land should be conquered. next that, he hoped that the [old] Religion shall one daie be established w^thout conquests or shedding of blood, but either by the blood of martyrs or by her . . . for the second point, he denieth [upon oath that he?] said it or thought it, and giueth some Reasons[a] . . . . . thing printed thereof, and dedicated to the pope, and it is well knowne w^th what heate and affection I haue alwaies w^thstood y^t faction of Spaigne. for after that two priests sent to Rome weare imprisoned & banished,[b] I counselled them to send others (as they have doon) and that vnder the protection of the French king, who dooth protect them nowe at Rome. Howe could it come into my fantasie to kill him, by whose protection wee do endeuo^r to deliuer o^r selues from the foresaid oppression and tyrannie? Further sait[h he] yf I hadd said it, I would neither be ashamed nor a[fraide to] confesse it: knowing that the king cannot . . . zeale and affection in the defence of my Queene and . . . . . he himself is of that mind and jugement, that . . . [notw^th]standing the diuersitie of Religion ought to defend . . . contrey, against all others whosoeuer. for the cath[olics of] France stoode to him, & fought for him, when he [was not of their?] religion. By these his answeares in his iust . . . may see o^r opinions, o^r intentions, and o^r fidelitie. . . . & contrey. Wee that liue in this contrey, and m . . . . . at home, are all of the same minde; detesting . . . . . of o^r contrey, and all attempts against o^r pr[ince] . . . differre from the spanish faction in word, hart, right and reason.[c] 54, f. 228.

[a] Several lines defective or undecipherable.

[b] Bishop and Charnock. Bishop was sent to Paris. Charnock retired to Pont-à-Mousson, where he resided with Pitts.

[c] From this point the few remaining decipherable words make no connected sense.

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47, f. 277. 11. *A Memorial to the Cardinals on behalf of priests said to have been deprived of faculties.*[a]

Sept. 6.

De statu Sacerdotum appellantium quantum ad facultates quas Archipresbiter dicit se ab eis abstulisse.

Licet Archipbr a sacerd^{bus} appel^{bus} facultates se abstulisse dixit, et ablatas adhuc manere nuper in Anglia declarauit, contra verba et sensum ultimi Breuis SS^{mi} D. N., nemo tamen sacerdotum ab vsu facultatum suarum adhuc abstinuit, quia literis constitutiuis Archipbri manifeste constat, ipsum nullam prorsus authoritatem habere sibi a S^{te} sua concessam auferendi facultates nisi ex precedente aliqua culpa et ex cognita incorrigibilitate post fraternas præmissas admonitiones. Sacerdotes autem nullam aliam culpam noscuntur commisisse ob quam dicuntur facultatibus priuati, nisi quod ad sedem Ap'licam appellarunt et semetipsos ab iniusta schismatis nota moderate defenderunt.

Preterea quod ad decreta Archipbri attinet, eorum transgressio pro culpa non habetur, tum quia nullam condendi leges uel decreta sanciendi potestatem habere videtur (quod tamen declarari cupimus) tum quia in nullo alio nisi in prædictis duobus casibus, decreta eius transgressa fuerunt. Quapropter si appellantibus facultates tanquam vere amissæ uel ablatæ restituantur, innocentes tanquam gravissimis criminibus rei condemnabuntur; quæ ab Archipbro iniquiss^{e} et absque ulla sedis Ap'licæ authoritate patrata fuerunt, quasi recte facta confirmabuntur; quæ iam fuerunt per Ill^{os} DD^{os} decreta in hac controversia invalida reddentur et infinitorum fere hominum conscientiæ de iterandis confessionibus scrupulis torquebuntur.

Postulauimus itaque, sicut et modo humillime postulamus, vt declaretur, omnes Appellantes esse quoad facultates suas in eodem statu quo fuerunt ante inceptam hanc de schismate controuersiam. Quod non ex aliquo nostro scrupulo aut dubitatione de validitate

[a] In the handwriting of Mush.

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confessionum et facultatum fieri petimus, sed ad satisfactionem eorum qui de hac re sine causa dubitare voluerunt, et conscientias nostrorum Catholicorum scrupulis et anxietatibus vexare delectantur.

Exhibitum Card^bus^ 6. Septembris inter eundum ad congregationem pro rebus Anglicis secundam.

12. *Letter to the Pope from the four English priests.* 47, f. 278.

Beatissime Pater.

Maxima et unica post deum consolatio nobis est, quod vestræ paternæ commiserationis viscera ita patentia habeamus, vt in cunctis angustijs nostris adeo nobis liceat cum certa refrigerij spe confugere. Itaque nos quatuor presbiteri Angli, quos de summa clementia vestra et benignitate sic in patrocinium suscipere dignati estis, vt ad vitam tuendam necessaria vltro obtuleritis, humillime supplicamus B^mæ^ paternitati v. vt causas ecclesiæ nostræ quæ iam diu coram S^te^ v. agitatæ et discussæ fuerunt, cum primum per grauiora negotia licebit, terminare velitis; itaque interim dum hoc commodè possit fieri, aliquid nobis eleemosinarij subsidij imparti[ri] dignemini, quo præsentibus nostris necessitatibus subveniatur. Hoc eo magis nunc a S^te^ v. petere cogimur, quod nostrum aliqui grauioribus decumbunt febribus, qu[orum] curæ multos sumptus requiri experimur. Nos certe (B^me^ pater) eo inopiæ redacti sumus, vt cum antea singuli ad frequentia ministeria prestanda singulos famulos habere consueverimus, iam consenescentes et multum aduersa valetudine laborantes, ne vnum quidem famulum ad communia munera obeunda inter omnes quatuor alere aut apud nos retinere valeamus.

[*Endorsed*] Exhibitum 9 Sept.

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54, f. 221. 13. *Letter from Bagshaw to the Bishop of London.*[a]

Sept. 29, 1602.

My very good L. m[r] Bluett is on the way hytherwarde, & commeth by Bruges. We have receaved no letters these three or foure posts from Rome whereby we can not averre any certaynty of our affayre. from Flanders they write y[t] all goeth well for the Jesuits: Heere it is certified to the Kings ministers, y[t] all goeth well w[th] the priests.

Many things ar yett to be dealte in, especially mony matters w[ch] require many particular discussions. Ingresse & egresse is a thinge necessary for owr dispatch, if not absolutely, yett we dowbte not w[th] convenient limitation. I have written to m[r] Secretarie for myne owne particular. I desyre your H. at your opportunity knowe what answeaare I am to expect.

For Fisher I have written to m[r] Watson more fully, for not trooblinge your L. I dowbt not but your woonted prudence & respect of innocence will direct you to manage his examinations for the best . . . . . .
Amonge other things obiected to our brethren in Ro[me] . . . . .
of owr Queene, & the Frenche Kinge. So potent is the . . . . . .
w[ch] hath even heere plures fibras than one vnexperienced would . .
the L. Embassador hath yett I thinke scarcely setled . . . . . .
at his howse to have saluted him but he had not then bee[n] . . .
I would be loathe to recourse to him w[th] affronte . . . . . ,
please your H. by M[r] Watson or otherwise to give some advertisement what is to be expected or performed.

I would be gladd to have some time in England for fetchinge some things I have, necessary to furnishe me in myne exile. that I reserve to God & your good consideration.

[a] The MS. is torn at the edges, but even the mutilated sentences are not without significance.

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Wth my humble dutye. Paris. this 29 of September 1602.

Your H^{r} in all syncere affection

Christopher Bagshaw

Endorsement (*in another hand*):

To the Right hono^{le} his very good Lo: the Lo: B^{p} of London.

14. *Letter from Dr. John Cecil at Rome to James Hyll, Esq., at Paris.* 54, f. 238

Oct. 7, 1602.

Ryght Wo^{r}sh^{ll}

The laste we receaved from yow was of the 17 of August: It seemeth by o^{r} calculation that yow have neclegted to write or that yo^{r} letters have miscaryed some 2 postes: We cannot remember eny omission one o^{r} partes: before I fell sicke the 2 postes immediately precedent I delyuered to the Embassador 2 general pacquettes for yow, w^{ch} I suspect myght come to yo^{r} handes both together, because at the delyuery of the fyrst he was in dowbte yf he showlde by that ordinarye dispatche his private pacquate. in those of o^{rs} weare letters to D. Bagshowe m^{r} Pagget, Capten Eliot and good m^{r} Bossvile from me, to D. Bishop & others from my colleges. I sente in the same the declaration of the Inquisition & the replyes we made agaynste the continuation of the Archp: & other heddes. after my sicknes my companions writte twise w^{t}hout intermission & now it hath pleased God to give me so mutche strenghte & comoditye of helthe I returne to my former diligence in saluting you. The cause of the miscaryinge of o^{rs} & yo^{rs} we impute to the absence and sicknes [of] the Embass. private Secretarye; the Secretarye estab. not beinge acquayn[ted] w^{t}h the sendinge of o^{r}, we f[eare] putt them w^{t}h oth[ers] in a cover to the post master, and so may they [lie] perhappes at Lions or at the postes in Paris whear [you] shall doe well to inquyer after them. thus mutch for that poynte.

My companyons have written to yow & others . . . the tyme of

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my sicknes & therfore I wyll make no farther repetitions then of thinges faulen owte sithe[nce] theyr writinge: we expecte euery daye o^{r} dispatche, ye sight of the Breve w^{c}h is vnder Vestrios handes. [I] vnderstande there be 2, one as a private [re . . est] . . . to the [Archpa:] [a] annother in general to al the p[eople].[b] The pope styll sayeth he wyll give vs con . . . yet Parsons by authorytye & arte hadde like to have . . . vs, the 3 of this present, into suche a brake that [should] have intangled vs terribly yf not vtterly vndonne [us]. He hadde vnder pretexte of peace & friendship p . . the pope to sende for vs to be at the palace prec . . . 20 of the clocke on thursday last, wyllinge likewise that [yf I] weare owt of
54, f. 238b. my bedde I show[ld] not fayle to be pre[sent] . . . We weare ryght gladde of the appoyntment hopinge his ho: would give vs the bull & dispatche vs. We went [at] the hower appoynted, wheare we stayde some haulf hower, & behould Parsons w^{t}h his procters Parker & Archer appeareth, he saluteth vs and we hym w^{t}hout farther coniunction or communion: when we sawe hym and o^{r}selves theare, one the stage together, we beganne to suspecte that that was indeede to wytte that a[ll] his stratagemes weare not yet at an ende, & feared the pope showlde commaunde vs to ioyne handes w^{t}h hym & in his syght to make a peace. We conferred for the brevitye of the tyme howe to avoyde this inconveniens, but w^{t}hal secretlye and in o^{r} hartes we recurre[d] to God & o^{r} blessed ladye that they woulde diver[t]e this malheure from vs, interim cometh in Card: Farnesius in whose presence this solempnitye of pacification must be performed, but for the providence of God almightye: The Card., deputed for examen of bushoppes, came in so fast in the tayle of Farnesius that, after a 2 howers expectatio, Parsons fearinge we shoulde not have tyme inowghe that daie wente to the porteco & gott a worde of the master de Camera, and so departed: imagine yow yf we weare not gladde men to see the storme we feared to be so for the tyme diverted: yet the good manne of his charitye sent the 2 procters vnto vs to advertise vs that we showlde

[a] Or, ffath. pa? [b] Or, priests? The writing is scarcely legible.

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lose o[r] tyme to expecte farther that daye: aunswer was made that we came not thyther but for o[r] owne private audience & hadde nothinge to doe w[th] Parsons or his audience and so stayde tyll the master de Camera came owte w[th] a Cardinal, at w[ch] tyme I stepped to hym & towlde hym that according to the popes order we weare theare expectynge his pleasure. I asked yf he commaunded vs to attende farther or no. he sayde he cowlde not tell what to saye but he was [of] opinion that rather no than [yes][a]. We departed somwhat recreated that we hadde gotte respirandi tempus, seinge o[r] selves browght by this artifice into termes either to displease the pope & protecter to these f . . , or to faule owte w[th] o[r] best & surest patrone & protecter.

We post in hast to o[r] asylum, to o[r] only refuge & redresse in al o[r] exigentes, o[r] good Embass. whose audience was the nexte daye. We informe & give hym o[r] reasons: he the nexte daye dealeth so effectually w[th] the pope that he gatte promise th[at] his holynes showlde not vrge vs to eny such inconvenience: The pope confessed that his intent of caulinge vs together was that to make vs frendes and to embrace on an other before we wente oute of his chamber doore; This borasca was like to come vppon vs Thursdaye last the 3 of this presente: w[ch] we shall desyre you to communicate w[th] o[r] brethren w[th] o[r] hartye comendations to them all: To D. Bagshawe my comendacions in particular to whome I have writen so often w[th]out aunswer, a postscript in annother man's letter only excepted, that I ame a werye of the occupation. We are vncerten as yet who shal returrne or who shal remayne, & canne deliberate or determine nothinge in that kynde tyll we see the bull. **54, f. 239.**

7th of Ottobre 1602 [*in another hand*].

Endorsement I. (*in same hand as letter*):

To the Right Worshipp[ll] his very lovinge [fren]d
m[r] Jame Hyll Esquyer give thees
Paris

[a] Some Italian words erased.

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Endorsement II.:

lr̃es de m^{r} Cecile de 7^{e} d'ottobre come par [un] billet qui y fut enfermé [est] apparent. Rsp. le 25^{me} d'ottobre 1602

54, *f.* 393.

15. *Legal questions as to the force of the Papal Brief of October* 1602.

Qualis publicatio istius brevis requiritur vt obliget in conscientia, aut in foro exteriori?

Vtrum ex eo quod quis legerit vel lectum audiverit originale aut copiam authenticam obligetur?

Vtrum declaretur Archipresbiter excessisse suas facultates in condendis decretis, v^{l} solum prohibetur ne condat in posterum?

Vtrum illa particula prætensi idem sonat quod falsi et iniusti?

Qui libri dicendi sint criminosi, iniuriosi, et calumniosi aut qui sunt illi libri aut literæ quæ excitare possint in posterum dissidia?

Vtrum prohibemur servare processum huius negotij, aut eum imposterum typis mandare aut socijs communicare aut apud amicos deponere?

54, *f.* 394.

Replies to the foregoing questions by Mons. Seraphin.

Ad p^{m}. Si publicatio non potest fieri per affixionem ecclesijs Catholicorum poterit fieri per eos qui habent curam administrandorum sacramentorum in conuentibus et congregationibus eorum, in presentia eorum quorum curam gerunt animarum. Et etiam publicatio fieri poterit in regnis vicinioribus Catholicorum in locis propinquioribus et vicinioribus ecclesijs.

Ad 2^{m}. Ex lectura originalis et copiæ authenticæ obligantur qui legerint ad obseruationem, cum habita eius notitia non possint excusarj apud Deum.

Ad 3^{m}. Non legitur expresse declaratio Archipresbiterum ex-

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cessisse suas facultates cum nullum factum narret ex quo talis excessus colligi potest, sed tacite uidentur reuocatæ sententiæ si quæ sint per quas Archipresbiter declarauerit presbiteros, pretextu schismatis, rebellionis et inobedientiæ, facultates ipsis concessas a sede Ap'lica et superioribus amisisse, nam Papa declarat eos has facultates nunquam amisisse. Et hac declaratione papæ tolluntur omnia si quæ fuerunt facta contra presbiteros prætextu inobedientiæ etc. et tollitur ei facultas in posterum.

Ad 4^m^. Illa particula prætensi arguit summum Pontificem non habere pro uero prætextum illum Archipresbiteri declarantis presbiteros schismaticos, rebelles et inobedientes; quin imo clare uidetur approbasse appellationem per eos interpositam ad s. sedem.

Ad 5^m^. De hac re non potest dari certum responsum, cum pendeat a lectione librorum; ideo diligenter cauendum est a tali scriptione quæ possit noua parere dissidia aut uetera renouare, et satis consulto remedio huic malo obuiam itum uidetur, ex q° huiusmodi libri in publicum edi non possunt nisi prius obtenta protectoris licentia.

Ad sextum. Ex publicatione processus huius negocij nihil boni consequi possunt presbiteri, et omnem occasionem contentionum amputare debent, silentio et oblivioni præterita tradentes: et hoc cadet sub prohibitione proxime deducta, quamuis uerbo tenus non prohibeantur exponere suis symmistis quæ in Curia gesta sunt.

Endorsed (apparently by the same hand in which similar notes are made in the copy of the "Brevis relatio"):

Aduis de Monsieur Seraphin sur les doubtes proposés sur le bref du pape

16. *Draft of Rules for an Union among the Secular Priests after the return of the Appellants from Rome.* **54**, f. 229.

Cum nihil magis quam pacis et fraternitatis mutuæ inter Catholicos stabilitatem fideique Catholicæ propagationem desideremus, idque a S^mo^ D. N. Cle: 8° in mandatis habuimus, tam

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vivæ vocis oraculo quam litterarum apostolicarum testimonio, omni nostro conatu effectum dare, cœpimus cogitare et inter nos fratresque nostros serio capita conferre quomodo inimici hominis zizania omnia ex agro diu radicitus evulsa eijceremus omnemque illi aditum imposterum in vineam Anglicanam præcluderemus.

Compertum est itaque, post varios hac de re habitos sermones, communem quasi pestem et pernitiem totius inter catholicos (præcipue vero sacerdotes) pacis et perfectæ charitatis fuisse [vel fraternæ famæ tuendæ negligentiam vel][a] horrendum illud detractionis vitium, cuius ministerio tecte et pedetentim accensæ quædam aversionum scintillæ in maxima proruperunt animositatum, calumniarum, inimicitiarum et dissidiorum incendia. [alterum vero charitatis mutuæ quoddam quasi deliquium cum omnes quæ sua sunt quærentes proximorum angustias non respiciunt]. Ne penitus itaque sic tam horrendo et stupendo incendio conflagrarent omnia, nihil sanctius aut saluti animarum salubrius esse duximus quam nos fratresque nostros omnes quibus placuerit libere in album nostrum admitti regulis quibusdam et limitibus certioribus coercere, ne in huiusmodi imposterum incidant detractionum præcipitia omniaque illa quæ ex hoc fonte dimanant vitia, per contraria virtutum exercitia extirpent [unaque hortari excitare et devincere ad frequentiora et ferventiora charitatis officia]. Itaque profitemur, et in verbo sacerdotum sanctissime in nos suscipimus quantum possumus et humana patietur fragilitas, regulis infrascriptis nos subijcere easque religiosissime observare [durante præsenti in Anglia persequutione, nisi aliter a superioribus nostris visum fuerit].

Regula i. Vt qui in societatem istam admittantur detractiones omnes rumores et susurros, quibus catholici alicuius fama præcipue sacerdotis violari possit, reprimant et reprehendant, sive hoc verbo sive scripto fiat, neque patiatur aliquem (quantum in se) infamem fieri nisi post habitas fraternas et in charitate debitas correctiones, nisi scandalum fuerit publicum et persona incorrigibilis.

[a] The passages here placed within square brackets are additions interlined, but in the same hand as the rest of the text.

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Vt semper aliquid præmeditatum habeant quod vbi occasio ferat sive in concionibus sive in privato sermone vtantur ad vitium istud e catholicorum animis et ædibus exstirpandum. Re. 2ª. 54, f. 229b.

Vt qui ex hac societate sunt candide omnia et charitative interpretent, [ea] præcipue vero quæ a confratribus suis dicta, facta, sive scripta sint, eosque eorumque famam et æstimationem tueantur et defendant quoad iustitia, charitas et particularis hæc inter nos vnio et communio requirant, eosque moneant si qui de ijs sparguntur clamores quibus eorum fama violari poterit vt aut se purgent aut corrigant, autores etiam istiusmodi rumorum proferant si fuerit publicè, aut si qui retulit eos esse veros asseveraverat. Rª 3ª.

Vt parati sint quoad poterunt catholicorum in carceribus detentis necessitatibus tam temporalibus quam spiritualibus subvenire, aut aliter oppressos et afflictos visitare et adiuvare, præcipue vero eos qui societatem istam sunt amplexati, sacerdotes vero ope et hospitio destitutos fovere ijsque quoad poterunt providere. Reg. 4ta.

Vt tam ope quam opera, auxilio, consilio et authoritate concurrant ad tales causas omnes promovendas et prosequenda quæ [ad viros ecclesiasticos spectant] a tota ista societate vel maiori parte tractari, proponi, aut prosequi iudicabitur opportunum [re prius cum singulis communicata]. Reg. 5ta.

Si inter fratres societatis huius lis aliqua aut contentio oriatur, vt electis ex ipsa societate arbitris eorum se iudicio et determinationi subijciant. Reg. 6ta.

Vt pro defuncto fratre singuli sacerdotes singula celebrent sacra: et pro benefactoribus nostris bonoque huius societatis singulisque confratribus, præcipue autem ijs qui in carceribus sunt aut periculo mortis aut pro causa communi laborant peculiari aliqua devotione singulis diebus vtantur. Reg. 7ª.

Ne se rebus politicis vllo modo misceant quibus vlla offensio, suspitio aut preiuditium Regni et rerum statui temporali possit exoriri, vt quæ pro religione patimur omni sint calumnia liberrima. Reg. 8ª.

Item societatis huius secreta aut alia quæcumque negotia mihi Reg. 9ª.

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sub secreti cautione commissa nemini revelabo sine consensu fratrum meorum aut eius qui mihi idipsum commisit.

Reg. 10ª. 54, f. 230. Teneantur omnes præteritarum iniuriarum, offensionum et simultatum memoriam omnem sepelire, et si quem ex confratribus suis ante initam istam societatem verbo vel scripto iniuste perstrinxerit, teneatur quantum fieri poterit famæ eius dispendium resarcire.

Endorsements (in different hands):

1. Regulæ quibus sacerdotes parati erant se submittere.
2. Vnio facienda inter sacerdotes Ap: in Anglia post reditum ab Vrbe.

38, f. 384. 17. *Anonymous letter of intelligence.*

Jhūs Maria.

I comend vnto y^{r} w^{ch} this is all that the party told to me as it folowed, first he told to me that the controuersy betwyxt y^{m} and the Jesuits in y^{r} on nam was generally told in Room and then y^{t} on coleg cam to be on aganst another, and ffather Parson dyd put the matter in practys be his polycy that the Jesuitis shold haw superiority in England, and all the Jesuits in Room and about Room touk his part, after the cam befor all the cardinals and the poop is holynis the haw found that they wer but of the orders aund no superiority to be gewen to them but ther on superiority amongst themself, and that the secular church most be abow all orders and so it was concluded as he dyd tell to me. Vale Am . . .

Ro [?]
Px

Endorsed (in another hand):

How Parsons wold have the Jesuites to be chief in England: but the pope holdeth that the secular priests shall have the preeminence.

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18. *A paper for the King of France, showing that the Spanish King is not animated by religious zeal.* 54, f. 149.

S. J. H.[a] ad
R. G.

Qui dixerit Hispanum pietatis aut religionis zelo inflammatum tot Seminaria suis sumptibus aluisse et erexisse, tot nobiles fovisse, tot pensiones annuas contulisse errat longe, mea quidem sententia, nescitque illum multis abhinc annis regnum Angliæ vel saltem diadematis illius dispositionem animo devorasse, quod tum facillime fieri posse sibi persuasum habuit si in visceribus ipsius regni tot suis promissis deceptos haberet Catholicos. Quod ille tot sumptibus, tot conatibus, tot lustris, tot artificijs, tot missis in Angliam ex suis municipibus obnixe elaboravit, sct., vt fidam et firmam sibi faceret illam in Anglia factionem catholicorum quorum opera, fide, et authoritate possit provt occasio faveat vti. hoc ipsum vnico mense, vnico verbulo, vnica hac actione, vnico patrocinio efficaci Ma^{tas} v'ra consiliumque [?] tantum et tam avide expetitum aliud agens Hispano eripiet a faucibus. Quantum vero ad res Galli et regni huius stabilitatem et Ma^{tis} v'ræ securitatem attinet et gloriam adferet istiusmodi partium patrocinium, hinc videre licet, quod sine sumptu, sine sanguine, sine sudore in regno finitimo, potente et per multa secula contrario, de hærede et successore incerto et iamdudum a potentissimo et vicino Rege spe et opinione devorato hoc verborum solum dispendio et vultus beneficio sibi adiunget factionem fidam, benevolam, promptam et paratam a vestris stare partibus vestroque nutu et authoritate in ijs quæ ad pacem vtilitatemque vtriusque regni pertinent duci et dirigi.

Et ne quid novi aut miri hoc esse videatur vix adhuc vulneri obducta cicatrix loquitur Hispanum et Anglum annis triginta

[a] This is the original heading. To the H. have been added, apparently by a later hand (certainly in another ink), a few strokes which *may* mean *olt*, making *Holt*. But this is very doubtful. The copy is badly written and obscure.

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continuis factionem potentissimam in Gallijs aluisse, idipsum Philippum Athenis, Titum Hierosolymis, Romanos [Libyæ ?], Tarquinium Romæ, Mediceos duces dum exularent Florentiæ, Gallos in Britania et Burgundia, Anglos in Belgia factitasse legimus.

Endorsed in another hand:
Hispanie: nihil ob religionem tentasse.

54, f. 375. 19. *Scholars of the English College at Rome who have become or are reputed Jesuits*, 1597-1602.[a]

Nomina scolarium qui in collegium admissi sunt tamquam alumni ab anno 1597 ad incipiendum cursum anno sequenti 1598, quorum nomina qui Jesuitæ iam sunt hoc modo signata X,

[a] The list does not appear to be accurate, and it should be compared with the register or Diary of the College printed in Foley's *Records*, vol. vi. The names here given are, as a rule, *aliases* adopted by the scholars at the college, and not always the names by which they are best known. A few of them cannot be identified with the entries in the College Diary. I have added S.J. in brackets against the names of those who are known to have afterwards joined the Society; and it will be seen that this was the case with many who are not marked by the writer of the list as "covert Jesuits," or Jesuits in intention.

It was a natural complaint on the part of the secular clergy that, from the fact of the seminarists at Rome being educated under the influence of the Jesuits, so large a number of scholars should be tempted into the ranks of a religious body which was believed to be aiming at an unfair control of ecclesiastical affairs. The grievance was aggravated when, on the appointment of the Archpriest, the Jesuits on the mission were not only freed from his jurisdiction, but were enabled the more easily to direct his policy by the rule which required the Archpriest on all more important matters to consult their superiors. Moreover, it was believed that the Jesuits of the Roman seminary, in order to avoid the appearance of undue influence, would often persuade the young devotee to defer his actual entrance into the Society until some time after he should have gone into England, and to content himself meanwhile with a secret vow to join the order at a future day. From the beginning of 1597 till the end of 1602 there were, according to the College Diary, 75 students admitted as *alumni*; and of these 31, sooner or later, entered the Society. Hence the secular priests' constant suspicion of Jesuits in disguise. On the other hand, it is clear that the Jesuit recruits among the students were not derived solely from the ranks of their own partisans. Several students who were distinguished as "mutineers" subsequently joined the Society, suggesting the inference that their

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qui vero non Jesuitæ sunt sed pro Jesuitis computandi hac litera **C** declarati

ij vero qui in collegio mortui sunt eundem ordinem profitentes litera sequenti notati **D**.

Isti vero omnes vel immediate ex Anglia vel Duaco vel S^to^ Audomaro missi fuerunt.

Ad incipiendum vero cursum philosophicum anno 1598 venerunt Duaco;

Humphredus Hidus. Nicolaus Burdus [Budd]. Ihoannes Hollandus. Thomas Randus, S.J. **D** Ihoannes Harvordus [Harward, S.J.] **C** ffranciscus Goldsmitheus[a] qui sanguinem expuens in Anglia redit. **X** Thomas ffeakus [Feck, S.J.]

pro anno 1599.

Audomarenses

Ihoannes Philippus — Robertus **D** Robinsonus [S.J.][b]
Henrikus Walkerus [S.J.] — **C** Petrus Worthingtonus [S.J.]
Thomas Turnerus [S.J.][c] — **C** Thomas Mallettus [S.J.]

Duacenses

Ihoannes Jenninges — Henri Holland [S.J.] — Ihoannes Lineus
Thomas Ashtonus — Thomas ffranciscus — Henrie Coleus

Ex Anglia

Richarde ffinchance [Fincham] — **X** Ihoannes Greveus [S.J.]
X ffranciscus Youngus [S.J.]

discontent was in part due to temporary causes, or was not at least so deeply rooted as permanently to alienate these young men from the order to which they reverted with affection when free from restraint.

[a] All the above were admitted into the college Nov. 2, 1597. The letter **C** is here wrongly placed before Goldsmith. It should mark Thomas Rand, who entered the Society in 1600.

[b] The **D** is placed here erroneously. Robert Rookwood, *alias* Robinson, became a Jesuit after 1605 and lived till 1624.

[c] Thomas Barnes, *al.* Turner, should have been marked **D**. He was admitted into the Society *in articulo mortis*, 1599.

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Gulielmus Alabaster.

Eundem habuit animum Robert Caldwellus quem adversa valetudo impedivit ne fieret Jesuita.

ffranciscus Yorkeus, Richardus Chamberus qui in Anglia reversi sunt propter ægritudinem.

pro anno 1600

Robertus Walkerus, Thomas Everardus: ex Anglia vnde venerunt etiam missi

Henricus Chattertonus C Edwardus Webbus

C Edwardus Wittingtonus [a] C Nycolaus Arundguidgius [S.J.] [b]

Duaco venerunt

Robertus Wilsonus Richardus Ashtonus

C Michael ffreemanus [S.J.]

Audomarenses

Thomas Lutterellus C Sil . . donius [S.J. ?] [c]

pro anno 1601 ex Anglia in vna missione

Thomas Smitheus [S.J.] [d]	Thomas Clemens
C Thomas Caringtonius	Carolus Russell
C Henricus Butler	C Thomas Robinson
C Gulielmus Adams	Thomas Bassett

Eodem anno sed alio tempore

Courtneus [Henry Courtney ? S.J.], postea Whittingtonus

Eodem etiam anno receptus fuit quidam puer 14 annorum vel circiter natu Galico quod expresse repugnat regulis reformatis et habet animum, vt putatur, eundem cum ceteris.

[a] John Brown, *alias* Whittington, was admitted into the college Nov. 1, 1600.

[b] Apparently Nicholas Hart, *alias* Strange or Strangeways.

[c] Henry Bedingfield, *alias* Silisdon, became a Jesuit Oct. 1602.

[d] Thomas Hodgson, or Smith, entered the college Oct. 1600 and the Society Dec. 7, 1601.

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Odomarenses **54**, *f.* 375b.

C Iohannes Digbeus C ffranciscus Yates [S.J.]

pro anno 1602. Duaco

Gulielmus Garnereus [?] Ihoannes Amianus
Jhon Butler. Richard Parkinsonus. Georgius Ashtoneus

Odomarenses

Thomas Morus [S.J.] C Christopherus Bensonus [S.J.]
C Jhon Midforde [S.J.]

Ex Anglia

Charles Walkerus Robertus Olfordus [Griffiths *al.* Alfordus, S.J.]
Kempus [?] ffranciscus

Aliunde

Smalmann[a] Wodworthe [?]
qui pro hoc anno [1602] venerunt . . . . susceperint in . . . . collegij.

Ab anno domini 1597 exclusive vsque ad hoc tempus tantum 19 alumni redierunt sacerdotes in Angliam in quo temporis spatio undecim alumni in societatem ingressi sunt et e predictis 19 tres, vz S . . . . Morus, Cornfordus et fflintus pro Jesuitis habentur.[b] Hinc patet Jesuitas et eorum fautores non sine causa conari vt illi tantum scolares in collegijs recipiantur quos ipsi ex Anglia misserint. [1.]

Lectis collegij regulis facile videri possit quod, cum præfecti novitiorum peregrinorum et alii huiusmodi officiales Jesuitæ sunt vel reputantur, quam facile sit iuvenes rerum ignaros in ipsorum [2.]

[a] Samuel Smallman, of Shropshire, is entered in the Pilgrim Book as remaining eight days from Mar. 2, 1602, but his name does not appear in the College register.

[b] Thos. Cornforth was already a Jesuit in 1600. T. More became one in 1610, and Flint in 1621.

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societatem flectere, præsertim quia cum alijs loqui, multo minus de re tam gravi consultare vllo modo licite possint.[a]

3. Quod una [sit] collegij disciplina, id equaliter ab omnibus exigitur, sed superiores cum fautoribus suis sepius contra regulam dispensant, liberiorem illis conversandi modum permittunt: defectus illorum contra regulas vel non omnino vel saltem levius observant, illos benigne intuentur et laudant. Ab alijs vero rigorosam regularum observantiam exigunt, illorum errata gravius puniunt et non mirum erit aliquos huiusmodi difficultatibus oppressos vocationem suam relinquere, novitiosque et adolescentes improvidos talibus argumentis inductos illos sectari quibus superiores magis favere vident et sic paulatim illis similes fient.

4. Cum tantum tribuatur illis authoritatis, vt ex regulis collegij [colligi] possit, adeo vt quodlibet illorum præceptum vim regulæ obtineat quotidie novæ promulgantur leges quarum executionem non parum illorum sectatores alumni et socii nostri non parum adiuvant sperantes quod aliquando ipsi etiam hic dominabuntur, cumque expellendi e collegio, mitten[di] in Angliam, detinendique facultates etc. illis pro libito, facultas [sit], sufficiens motivum est vt quilibet quodlibet etiam durissimum patiantur ne in tanta pericula conquerendo seu remedium aliquando investigando se conjiciant et revertantur in collegio pro Jesuitis ex alumnis circa 16 quamvis forte etiam plures sint, cum tamen omnium alumnorum numerus 46 non excellat, quorum 8 vel circiter sunt adhuc novitij.[a]

54, *t.* 202. 20. *Aldobrandino's Passport for the Appellants.*

Nos Petrus miseratione diuina S. Nicolai in Carcere Tulliano Diac. Cardinalis Aldobrandinus S. R. E. Camerarius, Legatus Ferrariæ, ac totius Status Ecclesiastici Generalis Superintendens

Cum RR^di^ Sacerdotes Angli, Ioannes Cæcilius, Thomas Bluettus, Ioannes Misheus, Antonius Champneus ex hac alma Vrbe, pietatis

[a] Something wrong here. The whole of this paper is badly written, and, in parts, indecipherable or unintelligible.

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officijs rite perfuncti reditum in patriam parent; Nos quibus eorum uitæ innocentia, modestia, atque morum grauitas eo, quem in Ecclesia obtinent, gradu digna, satis perspecta et probata est, præsentes illis ultro dedimus, quibus et nostram in eos beneuolentiam testatam reddimus, insuperque omnes et singulos Principes, Respublicas, et quoscunque potentatus rogamus, ut eos per ditiones suas libere transire permittant; nullumque eisdem impedimentum, sed potius auxilium et fauorem præstari curent, atque adeo tractari ut decet ministros Christi. Ecclesiastici uero status Prouinciarum, Ciuitatum ac locorum Gubernatoribus, Præfectis, cæterisque Magistratibus quibuscunque districtè præcipimus, ut pari modo supradictos Sacerdotes honorifice ac beneuole tractent. In quorum fidem his subscripsimus et sigillum nostrum apponi mandauimus. Datum Romæ xxij Octobris.

P. Card^{is} Aldobrand^{us}

[Loc. Sig.] Henricus de Valentibus, Sec^{r}

21. *From Dr. William Bishop to the Bishop of London.* **54, f. 376.**

Paris, Oct. 27, 1602.

Right Honorable

Beinge aduertised that yo^{r} L. had written, howe our friendes about you do complaine of our slack giuinge them notice of our affaires: I tooke it for an opportunity of addressinge these vnto yo^{r} L. aswell to testify the obligation I take myselfe to haue (amonge the rest of my bretherne) vnto yo^{r} L. for the compassionable and honorable affection w^{ch} you have shewed towardes such of our order and religion as are free from all vndutifull practises against our soueraine Lady and deare Country: as also to lett yo^{r} L. vnderstand, why we can not giue better intelligence of such matters whereof we can say noe more then that wee haue before heard from others. and in truth it hath befallen out that

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since the last of July vntill the 26 of october, I receiued noe letters but once, at what tyme I wrote presently vnto Mr. Watson asmuch as I had heard. Nowe I have receiued such articles as the inquisitors agreed vppon: w^{ch} as oure friendes write, were shewed them rather to trye what they would mislike in them, then to haue them published before the Breve wherein it is thought the most of them shalbe couched: w^{ch} notwithstanding as they came to vs we doe nowe send with our friendes comon letter to passe through yo^{r} L: handes, that you may the better perceive howe matters are like to goe. Wherevppon I desire yo^{r} L: to beare with me yf, consideringe the state of our affaires I be bold toe redooble that our common petition and suite vnto you: w^{ch} is, that it may please yo^{r} L. to deale with her Ma^{tie} or the LL: of her honorable counsell, for the free and safe passage of some of our company vnto you. the wch yo^{r} Wisedome cannot but see, howe necessary it wilbe for the maintenance of our cause: not only to settle better correspondence and to instruct our party, but also to strengthen and countenance it, that it bee not ouerborne [?] by the contrary faction for the Archpr: standinge, who is wholy deuoted to the Jesuites, and diuerse men of marke on their side entringe in, to fortify their party: yf none of like reputation come in on ours, it must needes bee noe smale discouragement to the rest, wherefore I beseech yo^{r} L: to consider well of this pointe of importance, and yf it shall please you to make choice of mee for one of them to whom such licence shalbe granted, I hope to cary myself so in that negotiation, that yo^{r} L: shall haue noe cause to repent him of his choise. for I thinke I knowe an expedient, howe without seeing soe far of, our aduersaries shalbe soe weakned that all their canvasinges and vaine pretences will of themselues fall flatt to the grou[nd.] I desire therefore that I may haue yo^{r} L: answere vnto this my petition. Thus fearinge to be ouer tedious I humbly request yo^{r} L. to continue his honorable good affection vnto vs and assistance vnto our reasonable demaundes; so you shall for ever bind us in all dutifull sorte (the case of religion reserued) to honour yo^{r} L:

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and serue our countrey vnto the vttermost of our power. at Paris the 27 of october.

yo[r] Lordsh: alwayes to comaund
Will'm Bysh[op]

Endorsement in same hand.

To the right Honorable and his very good Lord the Lord of London at his house by Paules.
London.

22. *To the Bishop of London from a priest.*

Unsigned, Nov. 14, 1602. 54, f. 378.

Rt. Honorable,

Whereas her Maiesty in her late Proclamation[a] hath left some hope of favoure vnto such of our brethrene, as shall present themselues & manifest y[t] theire harts ar not poluted w[th] vnnaturall disloyalty to theire Prince & cuntrey. Therefore may it please your honor to vnderstand, y[t] when I had lived but smale tyme in our colledge at Rome & saw y[e] ambitiouse & sinister dealings of those Jesuits then superiors, I grewe into such dislike w[th] theire proceedings y[t] I was on of y[e] first w[ch] began to oppose them in these last dissensions of the colledge & on of y[e] first seven y[t] ioyned hands in memoriall to his holynese agaynst them, w[ch] action w[th]out waveringe or startinge I did as earnestly prosecute as any man there duringe my abode in y[e] colledge. And at y[e] same tyme f. Parsons booke of succession comeinge forth I did freely & openly disclame from it & all Spanish factions & tamperinge in state matters, as I can prove by good witnesse. By w[ch] acte I did so highly incur y[e] Jesuits displeasure y[t] notw[th]standinge y[t] they could not lay any act agaynst me at my departure vnfittinge a

[a] The proclamation of Nov. 5 offered indeed small "hope of favour" to those who dared almost to insinuate "that we have some purpose to grant a toleration of two religions within our realm."

All priests were to be banished except those who should publicly acknowledge their allegiance. With these the Queen would take further order.

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catholike preist: & notwithstandinge y^t I was sent by his holynesse himself in as much grace & favoure as any before or since (though of far better talents) as Card: Tollet did witnesse vnder his hand & seale whose letters I have yet to showe, yet so far did the mallice of those Jesuits extend, y^t when I should have passed thorow y^e Archducke his cuntrey, y^e next & salfest way into Holland, f. Holt a Jesuite informed y^e Archduke & his counsayle y^t I was an enymy vnto y^e Kynge of Spayne & had opposed myself vnto those proceedings in Rome, & was like to w^thdrawe mens harts from that part & do greate harme in England. By whose suggestions all passadge was denyed vnto me & furthermore some of y^e same crew were plottinge to clap me vp prisoner in Antwarpe. By w^ch meanes I was enforced to steale backe againe forth of his cuntrey in disguysed apparrell & hazard my selfe thorow y^e cuntreyes of Leedes [Liège] & Colon, pestered w^th free-booters in such dangerouse sort y^t every man told me how, twenty to on, my throate would be cutt before I should gett to Hollande. Neyther did they so cease to abvse me, but seeinge y^t I had thus escaped for England they or theire followers presently sent the next way into London to give warning of my comeinge to discredite me for a spy, & to prevent y^t I should not be receved & relived by catholikes. Divers other wronges have I sustayned by them both before & sence as I can easyly prove, yet could they never drive me to stope or yeld to theire designes eyther by subscribeinge at theire request (thoughe diverse tymes they have attempted it) or els by flatteringe or applaudeinge theire plotts of state & forrayne invasion, but have ever freely opposed when opportunity served. Thus have I truly & syncerely sett downe my carriadge & dealinge in these affayres & how dutifully and loyally I have behaved myself towards my Prince & cuntrey, meerely of conscience & naturall
54, f. 378b. duty when I never expected any favoure for it. But now if it shall please her Ma^tye to reward my loyalty w^th some ease from y^e rigor of her lawes I will, God willinge (as never the lesse I am bounde to do), continew as trew & faythfull a subiect vnto her, as

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any catholike preist doth unto his prince in catholike cuntreyes, or as ever any preist was faythfull to her grandfather of famous memory or to any her predicessors before his tyme. And so in most humble manner I take my leave this 14th of Novemb. 1602

Your Honors to command.

Endorsement:

To the Rt Honorable my very good Lord ye Lord Bishop of London.

23. *Letter from Anthony Heborne to Blackwell.* **54**, f. 240.

Nov. 11, 1602.

To the R. R. Mr. George Blackwell archpst of England

R. R.

The 30 of the last moneth I receyued lres from my bretheren the Appellants in Fremingham of their extreme distresses sustayned now for a long time, & because they intreat my labour for some reliefe, I haue therefore thougt it meete to acquaint your R. wt their wants, who by yor charitable hand to them & yor letters to others in their behalfe is well knowne to be best able to doe for them. It was my chance in June last to come to yt castle, at wch time the sayd Appellants shewed me how that many moneths together, they had not receyved above the rate of ijs iiijd by the week in common divident: and now they write, that they haue not receyved after the rate of xxiijd by the weeke of the sayd common charitie for these three laste moneths next before their present letter, in wch also they declare how they be furder tould yt they shall receyve yet lesse than they doe.

Yor R: knoweth that they be catholik priests suffering for the name of or Lord Jesus; & of what necessaries for life, winter, & their condition, they doe stand in neede. you likewise knowe that they haue noe liuings, but doe wholly rest for meate, drinke,

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cloth, fireing, housrome, & other requisits to lyfe, upon the providence of God, to be mainteyned by the oblations of his people as others of their qualitie are; & how that for this cause much almes hath ever beene given through the whole realme toward such charitable vses, & as yo^{r} self haue written more these latter years then before, w^{ch} I take to come to yo^{r} owne or yo^{r} assistants hands by reason of your office, & to be delivered over againe, to the ordinarie distribution of everie place, to dispose there of both equally to all, & in case of necessitie vnto every person as theire neede requireth, but as you see the distributor in that castle soe dispenseth the same, that some haue in competent measure, & others wante even for meere necessities. This difference in distribution you know must needs be either the sayd dispensers owne deed, or els proceed from the receyvers, or the almes-givers, or from some other interposed collectors or dealers in this busines, & a cause must be thereof & of the choyse thus màde of priests, & difference so putt betwene persons. The givers of the almes be the catholiks dispersed generally through the whole realme; y^{e} receyvors are taken to be yo^{r} R:, yo^{r} assistants, & happily also the fathers of the societie; the collectors & others interposed, such as liketh the givers and you to vse; the imediate dispenser there at Fremingham is said to be fa. Coffin. Those in wante be priests, in number six, men for priestly cariage noe more subiecte to exceptions, than the rest there be, from whom they differ in nothing but in being Appellants to the courte of Rome upon the causes y^{t} you know, in w^{ch} respect if the immediate dispenser there and others where soever, or the almes givers abroad or those through whose hande the sayd almes cometh, doe make the aforesayd difference & restraynt of reliefe from them, & y^{t} yo^{r} charitie doo not allowe thereof, but doo hould the course repre-[he]nsible, and meete to be amended; yo^{r} letters for the contrarie
54, *f.* 240b. may soone redresse it; the w^{ch} letters I doe earnestly besich for resolving of some that promissed to give them some releif, so . . . uld shew your letters that he might [k]now what feare &

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doubt in him of the contrarie this answere doth importe yo^{r} wisdome can well perceyve, & may thereby the better iudge and see of what necessitie for those distressed priests the shewinge of yo^{r} letters is; not only to the immediate dispenser there, but also to many catholiks abroad that be slack towards their relief, happily vpon the aforesayd feare or doubt, conceyved either of themselves or by the teaching of others, it being verie appar[ent] that neither that slacknes can be w^{t}hout some motives, nor . . .[a] motives want their cause & beginning. I have layd . . . thus before yo^{r} eyes the necessities of my brethren and made the causes to appeare from whome the same must needs proceed, & w^{t}hall the meanes wh[ere]by they may be helped, charitie & their necessitie inforcing me so to do. you know yo^{r} office, & the charge wherew^{t}h you stand burdened, & can well foresee of what example to catholiks yo^{r} charitie equally extended to them w^{t}h the rest there would be, what helpe yo^{r} letters may bring them; & what hindrance of relief and increase of their wants yo^{r} silence will procure: and I need not tell you how men will marke to see what you doe in this matter, & by yo^{r} deed gather your minde, those at least who know I writte, & will look to see your answere; therin to receyve satisfaction; w^{ch} answere once again I besich to haue, and that w^{t}h yo^{r} first convenience, least through wante thereof my indevours in this meane time taken for my bretheren be hindered, whose needes you see to be so great as they cannot suffer any long delays. this 11th of November. 1602

yo^{r} R. most obedient
A. H.

24. *Letter from Blackwell in answer to Heborne.* **54**, f. 241

[Original.]

17 Nov. 1602.

Sir

I would have you not to be so vehement in a matter, wherein I am blamelesse. I have considered them of Framingham further

[a] Edge of MS. torn off here.

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then my receipts can well allowe: w^{ch} ar nott so greate as they ar reported in a place, where nothing but truthe should be vttered. God knoweth they ar but small: and yet by sparing from my selfe, being contented to live in meaner condicion then any of yo^{r} adherents, they of Framingham have receaved yearly from me in common above six scoare pounds. Let M^{r} Bramston, to whom commonly I send, give his testimonie of my respect towards them, for whom yo^{r} patheticall complaint ys devised; yea these vngratefull persons being asked why they should abvse me, being so myndfull of them, they answered that I durst not but send to them. for one of them besides his divident, I payed at one tyme ten pounds for his debts: Merideth ys his name. I have written my letters abroade, w^{ch} have procured them noe small reliefe. The disposition of Allmes ys not committed wholye to myne appoyntment. The givers limitt yt, and make the peculiar assigment w^{ch} I must follow. I can blame none so much for defect of Almes then M^{r} Collington and his adherents. from whome synce the begynnyng of my troublesome office I have not receaved one myte. If you knewe how much goeth from me towards the reliefe of poore preists at there comming in: towards the succouring of prisons in the Cyttye: and towards afflicted Catholiks at libertie, and preists w^{ch} be in greate n[ee]de; you would be asshamed to forge accusations against me in this matter: and condemne yourselves that have made to me noe contribucions towards soe greate necessities. This last weeke passed, the poore preists w^{ch} came in to ioyne in o^{r} labours had of me ten poundes: A docter in want being preist had of me fourtie shillings: An other much distressed Catholicke of rare parts had of me foure poundes. And this wthin one weeke. I am now to provide twentie pounds for Framingham. This ys my care; and yet yours think I am carelesse in this busy[ness]. But I am carelesse for my selfe. for if any thing be committed to my disposicion, or as I will my selfe, I lett yt goe to remedy necessities abroade, and that maketh me to be bare in apparell, and not to be able to keep a m[an] to helpe my weaknes by age either

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w^th^in, or w^th^owt doores. God forgive therefore my accusers; and send vs his peace; w^ch^ if you embrace, yt wilbe for yo^r^ owne good, and my comfort.

17 Novemb. [1602 *added by another hand*]

Vester Seruus Georgius Blakwellus,
Archip^r^

25. *From Father Henry Garnet.* 16 *Nov.* 1602. 47, f. 384.

A Circular letter to his brethren.

My very lovinge ff^r^. Whereas it hath pleased his hol: to make a sweete ende of all the controuersies w^ch^ haue so longe molested not vs only, but all other Catholickes by a Breve of his dated the 5 of October 1602 . . . that although the Authenticall copye cannot come to o^r^ most Rd Archprieste handes so soone as were to be wished: yet notw^th^standinge we h[ave] gotten sure informacion of the contents thereof: & haue thought it good or rather necessary to intimate vnto you and by yo^r^ meanes as conven[ient]ly you may, to all of o^r^ Society abroade such thinges as concerne the execucion of the same for our partes; both because it becometh vs in true obedience to prevent (yf it be possible) the will of so high a Superi[our], and for that we haue a particuler obligacion to give good example vn[to] others and fynally for to avoide occasion of all complaintes: w^ch^ yf they . . . should after so manie others made against vs heretofore, by anie probable occasion geuen on o^r^ parte, arise: yt would be exceedinge grevous to h[is] hol: and other o^r^ Superiors And no doubt but accordingly they we . . . proceed towardes the Authors w^th^ severe animaduersion.

Ffirst therfore, it behooveth vs (as all other Catho:) to accept of 1.
his hol: Breve w^th^ all manner of reuerence and conformity of wills and iudgm^tes^ vnto his most prudent and pious resolucions: Exhortinge all Catholickes as occasion may be offered, to the lyke disposicion. And herevnto we fo[r] o^r^ owne selues haue a most speciall obligacion of gratitude in that he so affectuously sheweth

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his judgm^{t} of vs, that we ought rath[er] to vse his truly paternall testificacion for an imitacion to all fervo[ur] and vertue in all o^{r} lyf and accions, then anie way to acknowledge the deservinge so highe comendacion of that Apostolicall Chayre.

2. Secondly that w^{ch} most importeth: whereas his hol: requireth as much under paine of excommunicacion and losse of facultyes, every one is out of hand to make away all books wrytten on eyther syde in those quarrells, or any other bookes or letters printed or wrytten for de[fence] or impugninge of eyther parte or wherby any catholickes fame m[ay] be vyolated; neyther are any such hereafter to be wrytten, communicated or retayned, neyther anie other w^{ch} may stirre vp olde or newe contencions And wheras this also concerneth the Laytie, and a[ll] the Englishe cleargye, everie one may admonish his frinde here[in], although I hope ther will come the Breue itself wth the Authenticall Testimony of R^{mus} very shortly, whervnto of force all must giue credyt.

3. And although in this Breue there is no mencion of speeches on the one or the other syde concerninge these dissencions w^{ch} haue bin heretofore amonge us: yet wheras yt pleased his hol: in his Breue of 17 August anno 1601 to impose silence of these matters
47, f. 384b omnibus et singulis nostræ nationis and in particuler congregations of 13 & 15 of Aprill last to forbid vnder paine of censures any mencion of schisme rebellion or disobedience. Therfore this I comende earnestly vnto all of o^{r} Society that not only in wrytinge but also in their speeches they observe exactly this absolute decree of the See Apostolick, and yf anie person eyther lay or ecclesiasticall aske opinion of this case, let them say that ther must be no more speeche therof. In lyke manner let them dehort none from vsinge any ghostly ffather or harbowringe any priest, nor giue disfavourable censure of any, much lesse vse the names of faccion, discontented, or the lyke: except it be a knowne and publick apostata, or otherwise condempned hereafter by his superio^{r}. But let euery Lay person for confession or harbouring follow his owne inclinacion, and we incline rather to commend then to discomende any.

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If any of the Appellants should be intemperate or vaunt in this behalf of the Breue, this must not breake o^{r} patience, but we ought to shewe howe glad we are of a fynall ende, wishinge sincerely that ther had bin no sinne on eyther syde, neyther in the substance nor manner of prosecucion. And yf wth such patience we cannot obtaine the quiet w^{ch} we desyre, the fault will easely be laide wher it shall in deede be founde. 4.

If it happen that anie particuler person require anie satisfaccion of any speeche vttered against hym by anie of vs, yt will be well (yf presently it may be) to purge o^{r} selues wth modesty that eyther no such speeche was vttered or that it was spoken vppon iust cause eyther true or surmised at that tyme. But in no case to admitt any altercacion or any contentious tryall, but to alledge his hol: will that all be buryed, premisinge wthall that they shall be sure of no occasion hereafter, whether they had anie before or noe. 5.

Let all beware of spreadinge scandalous rumo^{rs} w^{ch} often tymes men will tell to haue vs dispyse, and let nothinge be wrytten in anie contencion wthout leave. And in case o^{r} censure be demaunded of anie case of conscience dependinge or belonginge to these poynte of stryf, let all be referred to his hol: or R^{mus} his declaracion, lest eyther we giue advantage to such as malyciously may seeke it or by the simplicity of others be made renewers of olde vngratfull matters. 6.

Not only in these matters but in all others hereafter, it becomethe vs all to be very circumspect, bewaring of anie least occasion of exasperacion of anie eyther lay or ecclesiasticall person: assuringe o^{r} selues that therby both we may loose o^{r} good frindes and may also be brought to giue straight accoumpt of such matters, iustly obiected against vs, vnto o^{r} superio^{rs}. And for the more plaine vnderstandinge of his hol. will herein I will set downe that w^{ch} passed those ij dayes aboue mencioned of 13 and 15 of Aprill, and so make an ende, comittinge yo^{u} and all the rest of our dearest ffr. to Godes holy proteccion. 16 No: 1602 7.

Yours most louing H.

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54, f. 189. 26 *Tho Bluet his negotiations at Rome.*

[Heading in another hand.]

Paris, Dec. 6, 1602

Right Honorable my very good Lord Yf strength hadd been aunswerable to good will my sellue in person had saluted yo^{r} good Honor and not my fewe trembling lyn[es], but wth all speade I will folowe: to yeald an accompt of all my [actions ?] and negotiations at Rome and ells where: a poynt not vnfitt to be knowen vnto her Ma^{tie} in my poor iudgement: and for that cause I will make the more haste: I meane to come as secrettly as may be, to avoyd the speaches of the clamourouse puritans that take upon them to direct her Ma^{tie} in matte^{r} of government. My Lord Ambassador heare hathe vssed me most honourably I meane to come over vnder the conduct of one of his gentlemen, for so is his good pleasure. thus in haste not forgettfull of my dutie festo S. Nico[lai]

paris

At yo^{r} Honor his command

Tho: Bluet

1 *Endorsed (in Bluet's hand)*:

To the ryght reverent father in Godd my good Honorable Lord my Lord Bushope of London

2 *Endorsed on f.* 153 *(by writer of Narrative, supra, p.* 40):

Paris ffesto Nich. 1602

M^{r} Bluet at his return from Rome

6 Decemb^{r}.

54, f. 399. 27. *From Anthony Heborne to Blackwell.*

Dec. 14, 1602

To the R R. George Blakwel, archp^{e}st of England.

R. R. on saturday laste at night being the 11th of December was delivered me his holines breve, and your letter to M^{r} Colletone

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shewed me, where you require him that I may publish the sayd breve in the Clinck. The truth is that I am very ready to anything either that catholik religion or the dignitie of my vocation shall require· but in this particuler I find iust hindrances, for the last proclamation as you knowe, shewing what opinion the state carrieth of the institution and intent of your office, and my bretherens letters of the proceedings had touching the same in Rome (w^{ch} I haue [seen . . .]) making apparunt what cause there is so to conceyue of it, it semeth evident hereby, that by publishing the sayd breve, I shall contract the like opinion to my self, w^{ch} in my iudgement I am bound the most I can to avoyd, God and good conscience not violated, I being one of the number y^{t} is both knowne and already also declared to be of a contrarie mind, as yor self and all I dare say desire to be thought, for that it is the thing w^{t}hout w^{ch} no favor can be hoped, and the contrarie vrged as the cause of all our oppressiones. besyd, my vsuall repare vpon other night occasions to the place you name, makethe the same most dangerous for me to publish any such matters in, so many circumstances occurring on my parte to make y^{e} same acte famous; for w^{ch} and other respects I retorne the breve againe w^{t}hout doing any thing therein; and thus besiching that y^{es} iust reasones may hould me excused w^{t}h you, as I doubt not but they do me in conscience from accomplishing your desire, I end, ready to fulfill your mind in any thing that shall not be weyted w^{t}h these or like incombrances this 14th of december 1602

Yor R. most dutifull

A. H.

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54, f. 156. 28. *A Letter of the discontented about the Œconomie to the Archpriest and the Archpr. his answere to them.*[a]

Dec. 13-22, 1602.

Literæ nostræ ad eum

Reverendissime pr̄ ac Dñe

Our duties beinge in most humble manner remembered. These are to request yo[u] in all equitie and indifference to respect vs and not to compell vs any way to admitt laymen to æqualitie of voyces and offices w[t]h us But rather wee beseche yo[u] to exhorte those that deale for you not to vrge that w[c]h so many dislike. ffor indeed we can not but think it a great indignitie offred vnto vs that they should by theire [ghostlie support counsell or counte-
54, f. 156b. nance . . . . . .[b]] our likinge any way ioyned w[t]h us. But of all other this makes it in our conceyt m[t] vnfittinge that if yo[r] self or any of yo[r] reverend assistances should be apprehended (w[c]h god forbidd) and comitted to the charge of our keep, every baker or Brewer that were a Catholick and imprisoned amongst vs, for stewarding and treasuringe (vppon w[c]h two offices all o[r] externall peace dependes and the ill husbandry thereof principallie presseth or rather oppresseth the poorer sort of our Company) must by this newe device be made equall w[h] yo[u]. What particler wronges wee have alredy susteyned about these matters in hand wee will not att this tyme trouble yo[r] rewerence w[th]all, vnlesse wee be further vrged, and are sory that necessitie driveth vs nowe so farre as in this generall sort to signifie o[r] greefes vnto you.

Wee vnderstand also that vnto laymen yo[r] authoritie reacheth not; what hope of redresse then can wee have if wee be iniured by them? Wherefore wee humblie desire yo[u] vt sacerdotibus sint salua sua iura, that whosoeuer is the other, m[r] Bramston may be alwaies one of o[r] Receyvors and treasurers of the common money: for otherwise we shalbe still oppressed w[t]h multitude as wee are

[a] The copies are thus headed. The "discontented" here were anti-appellants.
[b] Very faint and uncertain.

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alredy, that wee may manage o^r^ owne affaires as wee thinke most convenient, that you will not impose a burthen vppon us w^ch^ you cannott remove agayne. that these good men by yo^r^ fatherlie advice may have more care of theire poore brethren and lesse of theire keep, that they may rather respect the commoditie and frugalitie of o^r^ Comunitie then theire owne private contentm^t^ and proper will: fynallie that the lay sort may be willing to followe and not be p^r^ferred or goe before those that apperteyne vnto Gods owne lott and imediate portion.

Yet notw^thstanding all that wee have said to condescend to those that in these affaires are dealers for the laymen, for wee knowe that of themselves vnles they were sett on they would never be so ægerly bent nor so boldlie dare to deale in o^r^ matters contrary to o^r^ mynde, wee are willing that when so many priests as please to be stewards in o^r^ commons have one after an other ended theire seuerall quarters, the laymen, as many as will, may also take theire quarterly turnes one after an other till, theire courses being out, the lott fall vnto the priests agayne.

The laymen have æqual divident w^th^ vs, a thing not accustomed in other places, vnles, w^ch^ is a rare matter and seldome fall[eth] out, some exhibition be sent vnto priests especiallie, of w^ch^ wee thinke yt vnmeete that they should have any [parte or porcion?] notw^thstandinge our charges, as yo^r^ reuerence cannott but [know], be diverse waies ordinarily greater then theirs. **54, f. 157.**

Thus presuminge that yo^r^ reuerence will helpe to preserve o^r^ peace w^thout [prejudicing?] o^r^ persons in all humble subiection wee take o^r^ leave this 13 of December 1602

Yo^rs^ in all obedience

My deare and verie reverend brethren in vísceribus Dñi Jesu I humblie desire you to agree and not to thinke vppon any Innovations. Keepe yo^r^ old customes and let the laymen have theire voyces and offices as they have had hitherto. Yo^r^ dissent about Kitchen matters will cause yo^r^ Benefactors w^ch^ are laymen to

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think you are either idle or els careles to performe yo^{r} priestlie and spirituall offices. Imbrace [?] not yo^{r} selves to the stewardshipp, w^{ch} is to temporall and to vnworthie a callinge for yo^{r} profession. I must tell you playnlie that o^{r} unquiett people do reioyce in yo^{r} dissent, and their devotion will be withdrawn from yo^{u} if you leave not these Innovations and endevour to live in vnitie. This strife against the laytie and yo^{r} newe devise, depressions and oppressions of the laymen yo^{r} fellow prisoners, will cause yo^{r} lay benefactors w^{ch} are all and yo^{r} only benefactors to contemne and forsake you. Good men will be unwilling to releeve any w^{ch} are overcome w^{t}h any contentious humo^{r}. Looze not an honor for an humo^{r} and enter not into any evill conceyte of old Douze[a] whose discretion, knowledge, ... conscience and circumspection is so well knowne here that to destayne [?] him is to discreditt yo^{r}selves. Pardon me: greef and care of yo^{r} wellfares doe vrge me to write in that manner vnto you. Give no scandall to o^{r} afflicted Church. peace and vnitie will . . . . for y^{r} preferm^{t}. Certamini ergo quæ pacis sunt et pax dei exultet in Cordibus vestris. Commendo me vestris precibus. 22 December.

V^{r} Servus G. B. A.

To the WW his very good ffrends M^{r} Barloo M^{r} Bramsston M^{r} Hughes M^{r} J. Grene, M^{r} Alabaster and the rest.[b]

54. f. 155.

29. *An original letter from Blackwell.*

Feb. 3. 1602-3.

Gaudeo plurimùm, quòd Responsum mihi dedistis de Breui Apostolico vos velle facere in eo, sicut in cæteris omnibus, illud quod decet Catholicos Presbyteros. Et à me quoque hoc responsum

[a] Can this be "Dowce a froward intelligencer," who, the Bishop of London suggests to Cecil, should be transferred with other prisoners to Framlingham, July 6, 1602? (*Cal. S. P.* Dom. Eliz.)

[b] Barlow, Bramston and Grene were supporters of Father Weston, and the opponents of Bagshaw, in the Wisbech stirs.

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feretis, quod invenietis me paratum et oppetitum [?] ad illud quod personæ Catholici Archipresbyteri sit aptum et consentaneum. Sed ut hoc summatim, sic illud particulatim scire certum velim, vtrùm monita omnia, præscripta et proposita Suæ Sanctitatis in Breui suo Apostolico contenta libenti, syncera, et obedienti voluntate secuturi, et per Dei gratiam in moribus vestris expressuri sitis. Si præsto fueritis antecedentibus, fratres [?], mei affectus et effectus erga vos planissimum et plenissimum sensum accipietis. Restat, ut ex literis vestris intelligam an alij Appellantes etiam in vos commissionem aliquam suam respondendi pro ipsis et ipsorum nomine procurationem transfuderint. Valete, et renouamini spiritu mentis vestræ vt potiora probetis.

3° Februarij 1602

Vester seruus in Christo

Georgius Blakwellus

Archipresbyter.

Endorsement :

To his verie Loving frends M^r^ Hebborne, M^r^ Clerck and M^r^ Collington geve these.

30. *Three Letters from D^r^. Percy at Rome to friends at Paris.* **54, *t.* 870.**

I.

April, 1603.

Right Woorshipp.

I wold not let passe the occasion, offered by o^r^ honorable friend mons^r^ Acaria, but to accknowledge by hym the receyt off three off y^urs^, the first dated the 24 of februarie, the second havinge no dait, the third writ the 10 off marche: gevinge y^we^ harte thanks for y^ur^ advises off o^r^ frends arrived in England, and off ther negotiations ther, whereoff I have at large herd by my Lord Embassader . . . who is [fu]ll the most redye and most willinge to asist and to do all honorable offices hear in this court, yea more diligent and cairfull then y^we^ or they at home wold think. to whom, howe all

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[in] generall [be] beholden and every one in particuler, that will use his honors, faveur and consell, that I dalye do se and have triall off: and that the Enymie on all occasions hear fyndeth and so feareth, as he dar not put forth his hornes in this place as otherwise he wold have donne, nor Censor [to] maik commentaries or glosses of anye thinge exhibited, for fear he be rencontred [to] his dislikinge. yet knowe I wear in this place insidiatus sit calcando iniustus, quum aliâs lædere non possit. I do not think that he spareth others as he maye in abscondito. But if men bewair what they do to itt, and taik heed ne adversarius adulterinum aliquod ex suo immisceat, kepinge alwayes an origenall off ther doinges, there is no danger I hope. I [trust] men be wyse and discret, as I have said to ffather commissarius that other daye, and that they will not geve upp to any person any thinge in writinge quod erit
54, f. 370b. extra iudicium et determinationi contrarium. Nether will ther actions in what compagnie so ever they do live, yea, though they live at the table of the heretiques as prisoners, or in libertie abroad, be such as may geve such occasion of scandall to any man livinge nisi huiusmodi qui laborat principio (vt aiunt) hoc est qui aut habet ignorantiam in intellectu aut malitiam in voluntate, qui aliorum facta, licet certa et maxime religioni consentanea, instar phariseorum calumniari soleat. To be brief, so longe as men will consider what a boon sir [?] they have in this place off the kings faveur & protection and off his Embassader, and do nothinge that may geve occasion of suspition or offence to ether off them, I dout not but that the kingmakers designes will come, as is the old proverbe, from a wyndmill post to be pudding prik.

And for his generall letter of peace to y^{we}, wth whom he is so desyrous to have peace, I do think he doth know my lords opinion (I can theroff assure yo^{we}) that it is not convenient for manye causes w^{ch} hear ar to longe to sett do[w]^{ne}, for I knowe like an Esau he hath sought a hear, sed licet hoc esset cum lachrimis, obtinere non possit vt ego existimo. alth[ough] all men have that charitie towards hym and wthall others whervnto they ar obliged.

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. . . de fœdere nullo contrahendo sub specie et larva amicitiæ credo (nec enim fallor alias ita existimo) illud nec vtile esse nec consentaneum, imo periculosum, licet sit ex semine Aaron non sequ^itur quod non decipiet nos. possit enim loq . . . . verbis pacif . . perimus in dolo. Yo^we ar wise and know what is best to do ther or abroad, saltem vt orationes fiant sive cum isto sive cum alio cum omni charitate hoc enim rogo nec . . . aut Suæ S^tatis aut Illustriss. Cardinalis animos offendat. Scio quantopere ipsi in rebus gerendis aut tractandis fidem et modestiam ab omnibus expectant et desiderant, as y^we have had experience theroff. I pray yo^we contynewe y^ur course w^th my lord and so desier all others to do the lik; they shall have honor and consolation therby. ffor my owne part I desier nothing more off men then this w^ch shall content me, being content to hear litle off any matters, God is witnes to whom I do commend yo^we and all ther o^r frends. Salutinge y^we hartelye and all them. 54, f. 371.

Rome this 6 off Aprill

I thank you for y^ur faveur showed m^r Midleton yo^w oblige me denuo.

Y^u^s ever
Will^m Perseus[a]

Excuse me and this so evell scribled. in treuth I have I fear m^r . . . . Bluetts disseas

[P. S.]

Concerninge Eliot I leave him to his good angell, the man often I do se[e], never yet had talk w^th hym but ons that off lait that he delivered me m^r Hills commendations. I know the Colour of his coat and how he is employed hear. God grant he do nothinge that may be offensiff to God or disagreeable to his contrie. 54, f. 371b.

for that you writt off m^r D Smith w^th whom I have spoken, he saeth it is most false and in truth it is. And the Referendario

[a] So probably. Cf. *Douay Diaries*, p. 374. Mr. Macray reads "Persens."

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much abused whose affection towards me I knowe many years past, w^ch^ I do not esteme off in this place nor off those who have stronger reynes than he hath, be they hear or abroad, as I dout not theroff and have assured advise. Good forgeve them, as I do and be redye not^wth^standinge, not caring for all practises or æmulations agaynst me whatsoever, to do all offices that belongeth a Christian man to do in this place, wear I mean to staye and dout not off gods providence and the favour off the best hear. so longe as I do syncerlye serve hym as I have done to my power mediante singulari eius providentiæ auxilio et beneficio theis 29 years we longe for the 3 . . . . I do hoope they shall a. 4 or longer from hence. I do hear that ffa. Walpole doth p^r^nosticon that the priests who have exhibited vpp the memorial shalbe banished. I praye god it be not a p^r^nosticon but a practise. I do commend me to y^we^, et . . . . meo charissimo et fideli amiço P. Acaria qui . . . . hodie discedit. Vale . . . . chariss. omnes in domo Ill. legat. te salutant.[a]

II.

54, *f.* 372. Right woorshipfull and my dear freind.

Yours of the 23 off November wear most gratfull to my lord who red y^urs^ passinge well and was most glad off y^ur^ sayf arrivall, and I wold the iij others had acknowledged at that tyme the obligation they have to my lord nor they to hym to whom at that tyme my Lord doth think they writt from hom. I mean Fitzherbert who off lait vpon some occasions of his letters from Paris commeth seldom or not at all to visit my Lord. Concerninge y^ur^ owen particuler, assure y^we^ my lord will remayne y^urs^ most assured at all occasions in this Court, as he doth assure hymself off y^ur^ fidelitie and constancie and that y^we^ will not faill to writt to hym as occasion shall serve. He hath sent you as he told me the Breve,

[a] This and the following letters are indeed "evell scribled" and extremely difficult to decipher. The text is also bleared and blotted in many places, and the paper has been mended here and there, to the detriment of the words.

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and Monseny[r] Seraphins opinion writt w[th] his owen hand. for the chalice and vestment dout not off it in tyme, nam quod differtur non aufertur. I dout not but he shall obteyn longe maiora for yo[we] and y[ur] frends in this place when occasion shalbe offered.

Ones sence you departed he was in great Coler, concerning the practises of [Fitzherbert][a] y[ur] fooloppes [?] fellowe w[th] his frend hear. But as I told hym those practises were onlye off certyn folyshe ambitious imaginations and desyres that the partye had to be a bishoppe si dijs placet. and the litle friar, as sence is discovered, shuld have ben an other. yet is my lord off an other opinion that there is some other practise by mor then this. And iff ther be, all is not off great importance, litle can Jupiter pluvialis constare domi (?) as his agent hear. yet do I desier y[we] to have a cair and to break all courses or practises whatsoever iff they do not commit the same w[th] my lord. and for manye reasons w[ch] you may conceave and consider ether nowe or hereafter. 54, f. 372b.

In conserving my Lord and his faveur in this Court y[we] not onlye shall from tyme to tyme curbe [?] fa. p.[b] and his compagnons but overthrowe all his designes at home and abroad. Yo[we] shall alweyes have hym redye to do and speak in this place and in that Court as also y[we] shall conserve his dear frend the Embassader in England and mak hym redye to do for Catholickes ther as this man is most redye to do for them all here.

Parsons of lait was w[th] Card d'Ossay speine queen observantine [?], but revera to vtter his fears forsoth he hath . . . illam vt ille loq[tr], ne heretic . . . . intelligentiam, fides periclitet[r] cum nihil miser ille magis tundat quam ne lr̃is co'silijs regnu' ipsius corruat.

He dar not visit my lord, but w[th] the Card he was bold to vtter his fears, forsoth, he hath off y[ur] negotiations, the cair he saith off the publique good and off his nation. O vox serpentina, cum ille nunquam xp̃m sed quæ sua sunt tantum quæsivit.

By the next I shall send you that w[ch] y[we] desier at Minerva w[ch]

[a] The name partly erased. [b] Or, perhaps, "jap." Compare vol. i. pp. 96, 97.

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is granted ad instantiam R. patris Commissarij who hartelye saluteth y^we^ as also doth the ffather Regent off that Convent.
54, f. 373. All at my lords salut y^we^ maxime vterque medicus spiritualis et corporalis, all at S^t^ Lewys also. maxime R^ds^ D. pastor et D. natalis et noel. Remember me at home and wher y^we^ are. Vale. 25 Decẽbris Romæ ceptum . . Salutinge hartelye d°.

[Then follows immediately, beginning in same line:]

M^r^ Bagshawe,

fear y^we^ not that I doe forget anye particular y^we^ left w^th^ me in charge, God grant y^we^ maye sayf arrive. Seek by all means possible to break all practises either ther wher y^we^ ar or at home. Y^we^ have begon I trust the best Course that ever was begon for the Catholiques, iff men will vse the same as they ought to do. Dolman nor all his adherents in this place will never be able to do anye thinge to the Contrarie, nor be able to molest the least or meanest Catholique this daye. Some ther be that have intelligence w^th^ Dolman and fitzherbert his assistant, but I think iff they love ther owen securitie they will alter that Course. Let m^r^ D. Bishopp bewair. one hear off no litle accompt, whom y^we^ knowe, said to me that the partye was a badd compagnon, in french, c'est vn mauvais home bishopp. But by y^ur^ advise he will become of other . . . .

O^r^ Lord p^r^serve y^we^ for ever desyring y^we^ to salut y^r^self from me millies millena, and all at home in particular m^r^ Alban and Antonie Ecchaude et reliquos amicos nostros, and to dispose off me for ever.

burne this when y^we^ rede it.

Y^urs^ ever as y^ur^ owen
Will^m^ Perseus

Endorsed by writer: A Monsieur
Monsieur Bluett. pstre
Anglois a paris.

In another hand: Perseus to M^r^ Bluett 1603.

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III.

[I] have writt vnto yo^{w} (by mons^{r} de Creilles meanes to his sister) off y^{ur} affaires wth his holines and the Card. Burgesse, howe the pope after he saw the Card., reed the Nuncio his letter [an]d y^{re} owen, presentlye commaunded the Card. to signifye [th]at he was most willinge, grantinge y^{we} facultates . . . . abeuntibus in Angliam w^{ch} be those y^{we} do in y^{urs} [to] me demand. by the next post I shall send y^{we}, iff [th]e Card. do not hym self, his letters to y^{we} for all. [B]e merie in God who will love those that suffer for [h]ym. Hear Parsons and his ar strok dead wth this newes, [n]ot off her death but that the same daye [K]inge James was procl[a]med kinge off England etc, w^{ch} proclamation was geven to his holines in latyn by my L. Embassadeur vppon the 19 off this instant, she dyinge the 3 off this same. Some saye wth great reluctance,[a] others add not wth out suspition to die a Catholique. God grant the last be trewe. and the first also. yo^{w} wold wonder to see nowe how mens desynes are broken, et quomodo evanuerunt homines . . . in cogitationibus suis. and some others kinge makers abroad do not depart yet, but staye a while, for iff need be I knowe iff this proclamation do taik place off frends abroad fitt for y^{ur} retorne and assurance at home. Writt to me in a[n]ye caise and desier m^{r} D. Damsen [?] off the [. . .]e Vale, Salutinge yo^{we} both. I will deall [wi]th Dolman for y^{ur} monye whereof I have no great hoope but I will not faill to do this . . . sire for y^{we} and what els so ever in this place y^{we} ar much beholden to the Nuncio who writt most honorablye. also to Card. Burgess. and to my lord hear. Vale 21 Aprilis Romæ tuus

Perseus. **54.** f. 374

Salut from me m^{r} D. Cecill. Spayn hear seemeth to be glad of the proclamation and to lik of the election and procedings in

[a] Or 'reticence'?

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England. God grant the Catholiq[u]es at home and abroad consolation and save o^r contrye from civil ware.

A Mons^r
Mons^r Midleton gentlehme
et prste Anglois a paris
. . . son absence a mons^r
. . . au Colledge
de Cambraye a
Paris.

[*Endorsed in another hand:*]
D^r [Cecyll *erased*] to M^r Midleton from Rome.

54, f. 398. 31. *Petition to the Privy Council from Prisoners in Framlingham Castle.*[a]

1603.

To the right honorable y^e LL. of her ma^ties most honorable privie counsell.

In most humble wise do sue vnto yo^r honorable LL^pps yo^r dailie orators y^e priests and laie men imprisoned in y^e castle of fframingham, y^t whereas certaine orders directed of late from yo^r honours to y^e Justices of peace assigned for this place were published to y^e saied prisoners in y^e common hall by M^r Anthonie Wingfielde, Knight, and m^r Candey esquier, and therevppon y^e keeper of y^e castle straightlie commaunded to see them putt in execution, vz. amongst others: first that all servaunts belonging to y^e prisoners shoulde presentlie be dischardged; second, y^t no maintenaunce shoulde be delivered vnto them butt in y^e presence of y^e keeper or of his deputie; thirde, y^t all y^e saied prisoners shoulde be referred over to y^e keepers diett: Itt maye please yo^r honorable LL^pps to vouchsalfe y^e hearing of their humble petitions.

[a] Several of the priests whose signatures are given below were transferred from other prisons to Framlingham after the accession of James in 1603, and were shortly afterwards in the same year banished the kingdom.

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ffirst. y^t^ by yo^r^ honours permission theie maye continew their freedom for enioying suche servaunts as be conformable to her ma^tie^s lawes, if nott w^t^hin y^e^ castle yett w^t^hout in y^e^ towne, touching buying, dressing and making their provision att y^e^ best hand in respect of their vnfeigned povertie, whiche by all religious protestation theie stand readye to make manifest vnto yo^r^ LL^pps^ whensoever and by whome yo^r^ hono^r^ shall assigne.

Second. Y^t^ in like manner by yo^r^ hon^rs^ permission their freinds mai haue free access to deliver vnto them all kinde of provision for their relief and monie, as in former tyme. because yo^r^ saied suppliants haue iust cause to feare [by] long experience y^t^ theye had in the time of Thomas Greye, y^e^ keeper of Wisbiche castle, y^t^ if no monye can be [deli]vered butt in y^e^ view of y^e^ keeper or his deputie they will forbeare to come vppon extreame feare conceaved, howsoever ot[her]wise they be encouraged to haue securitie.

Thirde. y^t^ yo^r^ honorable LL^pps^ will vouchsalfe by no meanes to cast yo^r^ poore and distressed suppliants vppon y^e^ keepers diett, partlie because his lowest rate of v^s^ by the weeke for the poorer sorte is beyond their compass, and partlie that their usuall rate of 3^s^ by the weeke woulde nott extende w^t^hout subtraction made of three meales in y^e^ said wee[ke] and w^t^hout their freedome continewed for buying, dressing, and making provision att y^e^ best hand. And especiallie [for] enioying also of y^t^ howsholde provision w^c^h is but by suche frendes as haue no monie, w^c^h holpe will most assured[ly] faile, as all the other expressed, if yo^r^ LL^pps^ suppliants be referred over to the keepers diett.

These humble petitions yo^r^ suppliants are vrged to exhibitt y^e^ rather vnto yo^r^ honorable LL^pps^, first, because y^t^ [the] keeper dothe affirme by all othes and protestations, in y^e^ hearing of S^r^ Anthonie and his associate, y^t^ neither himself nor any for him is cause by information that those orders be imposed vppon them. Second because yo^r^ humble suppliants a[re] readie to depose, as before mentioned, that their povertie is vnfeigned in respect of

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their best frendes to be deceassed [and] others living to be decaied, if not of late alienated in mynde against them. Last of all because this late remove [from] an obscure prison to a place of this qualitie doth intimate much more of her ma^ties clemencie and your L[L^pps] benignitie also then that so harde exactions aboue their power and vexations, also if they refuse to condescend should . . . . be imposed vppon them w^thout some sinister information.

Wherefore they most humblie beseche yo^r honorable LL^pps y^t to whome otherwise itt hathe pleased yo^r . . . . to make shew of favour, itt may nott be lawfull for their keeper to shew rigour att his pleasure or by his wrong [?] information to procure the same, of y^e w^ch petition if itt maye please yo^r honorable LL^pps to haue gratious consideration in y^e behalfe of yo^r poore suppliants and captives, yo^r hono^rs shall bynde them during life to encrease [in] all dutifull affection incessantlie to praie as yo^r dailie orators that yo^r honorable LL^pps maie be made par[takers] of the supreme felicitie.

By yo^r LL^pps most humble suppliants in all humilitie and obedience to be commaunded these priests and laie men subscribed [a]

† Lewes Barlowe [b] † Thomas Edwarde Coffin. Niclas Lente
Edwarde Hues Haburleus † Thomas Bramston
† Christopher Drilande Christopher Holywodd
† Roberte Woodrooffe Fra † Leonard Hide
† W^m Chadocke Benedictus † Nicholas Knighte
† William Wigge † Raphe Bicley
† Willm̄ Clerionet
† John Greene
† John Bolton

[*in corner of page*]

Raphe Emerson Hughe Sheldon Richard Smorthet
Henry Kene John Elwed

[a] The 23 signatures which follow are original.

[b] Those marked † had been together at Wisbech in the time of the stirs.

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Endorsement:

The humble petition of y^e^ prisone[rs] in Framingham castle to y^e^ right honorable y^e^ LL. of the counsell.

32. *From Sir Robt. Cecill to the Bishop of London.*[a] 54, *f.* 200.

My L. I grow very tender in this business because I see how the Priests wold encroach and so giue cause to cary anew harder hands of y^em^ Reade I pray you this l̄re and see whyther this be good geare and think of it my L. for by God y^e^ Priest[s] swarm. I neuer loued persecution but by hea[ven] I wold be loth to be concluded Popish. yow and I will conferr of these things for we must neyther go to low nor too high. For Barrowes he is a dissembling lying foole.

For Wryght I haue sent you a warrant w^ch^ you may vse as is best for the queens service and seing there is a warrant alredy This may serve but you will find y^t^ he will keep open house in y^e^ Clink w^ch^ If he do or suffer resort he shall back againe

Your louing freend

Ro Cecyll

At foot, in other hand:

An originall Letter to the Bishop of London of Ro: Cecills about the Priests, wherein he sweares

Endorsement:

To the Reverend ffather in god my verie good Lord the L. Byshopp of London.

[a] This letter belongs apparently to an earlier date than the rest of the papers in this volume. The "Barrowes" referred to is perhaps Henry Barrowe, the puritan, executed April 6, 1593. Cecil at that time was member of the Council, but not secretary.

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54, f. 392. 33. *Protestations of Allegiance.*[a]

I.

A forme of submission exhibited to her Ma^tie of Englande by the pryestes & Catholiques of the same nation.

We Englishe pryestes & other Catholiques of England promise, protest and sweare in the presence & handes of, etc., that we are and euer wilbe most humble subiectes & servauntes of Quene Elizabeth, o^r soueraigne, redye to render her al due obedience and fidelitye, and we doe and euer shal acknowledge her for o^r soueraigne & mystres. And we protest and sweare lykewise that we wyll houlde no Intellicence w^th eny prince, potentate or other estate or particuler

[a] There are two other forms of such protestations or oaths of allegiance preserved among the Petyt MSS. (54. 233 and 54. 396), which it is not necessary to reproduce here. They are both drafts of "The Protestation of Allegiance made by Thirteen Missioners to Queen Elizabeth," printed by Tierney (vol. iii. clxxxvii.) from the MS. of the old "Dean and Chapter," and which he describes (p. 55) as "an admirable address drawn up by Dr. William Bishop," Jan. 31, 1603. The first (54. 233) has no signature, and is endorsed "A form of Submission of Mr. Clarke's hand," as if it was the composition rather of Francis Clark than of Dr. Bishop. There is another endorsement, not, however, certainly connected with this document, in a hand resembling Gifford's: "ffrom M^r Watson ye viii of June 1602." The second draft (54. 396) is more curious, as it seems to have passed under the revising hand of Dr. Gifford, who has appended to it the names of fifteen subscribers. The two additional names at the end of the list are Michael Wood and Walter Hassals, who perhaps withdrew their adhesion at the last moment. The text in its final shape is almost identical with the actual form presented to the Queen, but after the words of the opening sentence "faith and loyalty of us . . . . secular priests" there appear *erased* the words, "more than she findeth by the Jesuits and their adherents." In another place a few insignificant words, in what appears to be Dr. Gifford's hand, are added to the draft, and these appear in Tierney's printed text. Although in its ultimate form the Protestation of the thirteen priests refers to, and appears to be occasioned by the Queen's Proclamation of Nov. 5, 1602, it is not unlikely that it was in substance prepared many months before; for Dr. Cecil writes from Paris to Watson, Feb. 1602, "we have conceived here an oath of obedience" (p. 183 *supra*). The two short and moderate forms which here follow have not been printed before.

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person whatsoeuer in præiudice of the dignitye, authoritye, or person Royal of her Ma^te^ or her estate.

II. 38, f. 168.

I A:B: doe acknowledge in my conscience and confesse vnfeynedly that the Quenes most excellent Ma^tie^ Q: Elizabeth, now in possession of the Crowne of this Realme, is the true, vndowbted and lawfull Quene of England and Ireland: and that accordingly all the people and subiectes of England and Ireland, of what degree or callinge so ever they be, ought and are bound by the word of God faithfully to serve, honor, and obey her Highnes, as theyr onlye true, vndoubted and lawfull soveraigne Quene: notw^th^standinge any forayne or domesticall power, p^r^heminence or authoritye, or any doctrine, opinion or writinge, that eyther hath allready or that shall hereafter affirme, comaund or teach the contrarye. And furthermore albeyt the B: of Rome for the tyme beinge doe or shall hereafter attempt (eyther by any bull or sentence made, given, or to be made given or published by himselfe or in his owne name, or by force of any former bull or sentence pretended to be allready made, given, denounced and published by any of his predecessors) to pronounce, declare or publish, or suffer to be denounced, declared or published, that her Ma^tie^ is, or ought to be, deprived of her kingdome, and so consequently no true and lawfull Quene of England and Ireland; and that the subiectes and people of these lands, are discharged of theyr allegiance, and obedience vnto her highnes; and in like manner, although the sayd B: of Rome or any other by his apointment or authoritye, or by the apointment or authority of any other, shall invade eyther the Realme of England or Ireland, or shall attempte by force of Armes, to overthrow the present estate of his kingdome, or of the religion now professed and established by her Ma^te^ lawes and ordinanc[es], whether it be vnder colo^r^ of the restitution of the Romish religion, or vnder what other pretence so ever it be: yet notw^th^standinge I

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doe acknowledge myselfe bound in my conscience, to take parte wth her Ma^{tie} against all such persons and theyr forces. And therfore I doe vnfeynedly professe and affirme, that I will ever be redye, w^{t}h my body and goodes, to wthstande to myne vttermost power and abilitye any such forcible and violent attemptes w^{t}h the like faith and true allegiance that becometh all dutifull and faithfull subiectes of any other Christian prince to wthstande any enemye that shall seeke by force of Armes, of malice and wthowt iust cause, to invade or assalt any of theyr possessions, dominyons or Contreyes. And all these pointes I acknowledge, confesse, affirme and professe, so helpe me God.

Endorsed: An othe of Allegeance thowght vpo^{n} by some Catholickes.

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